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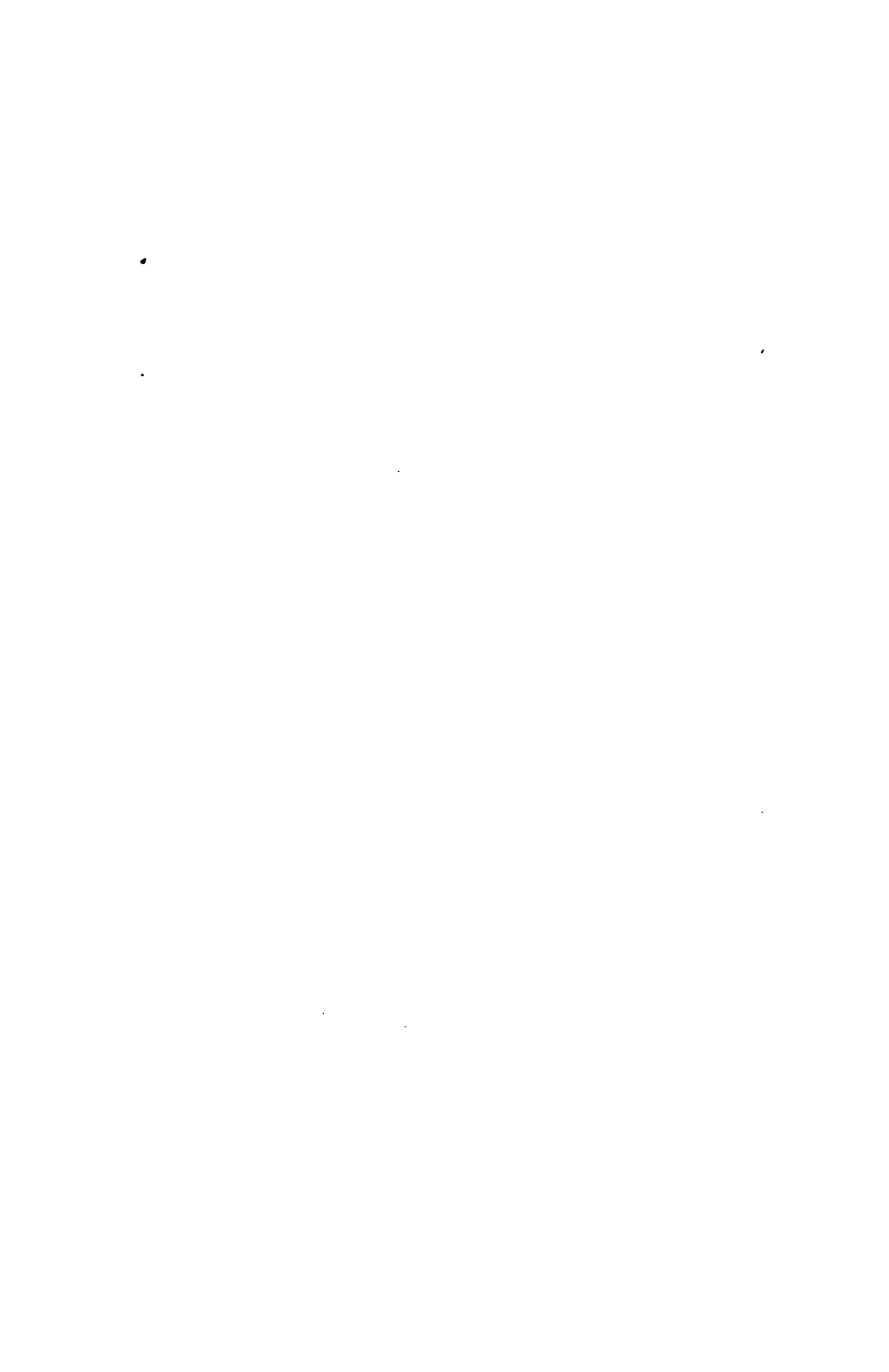
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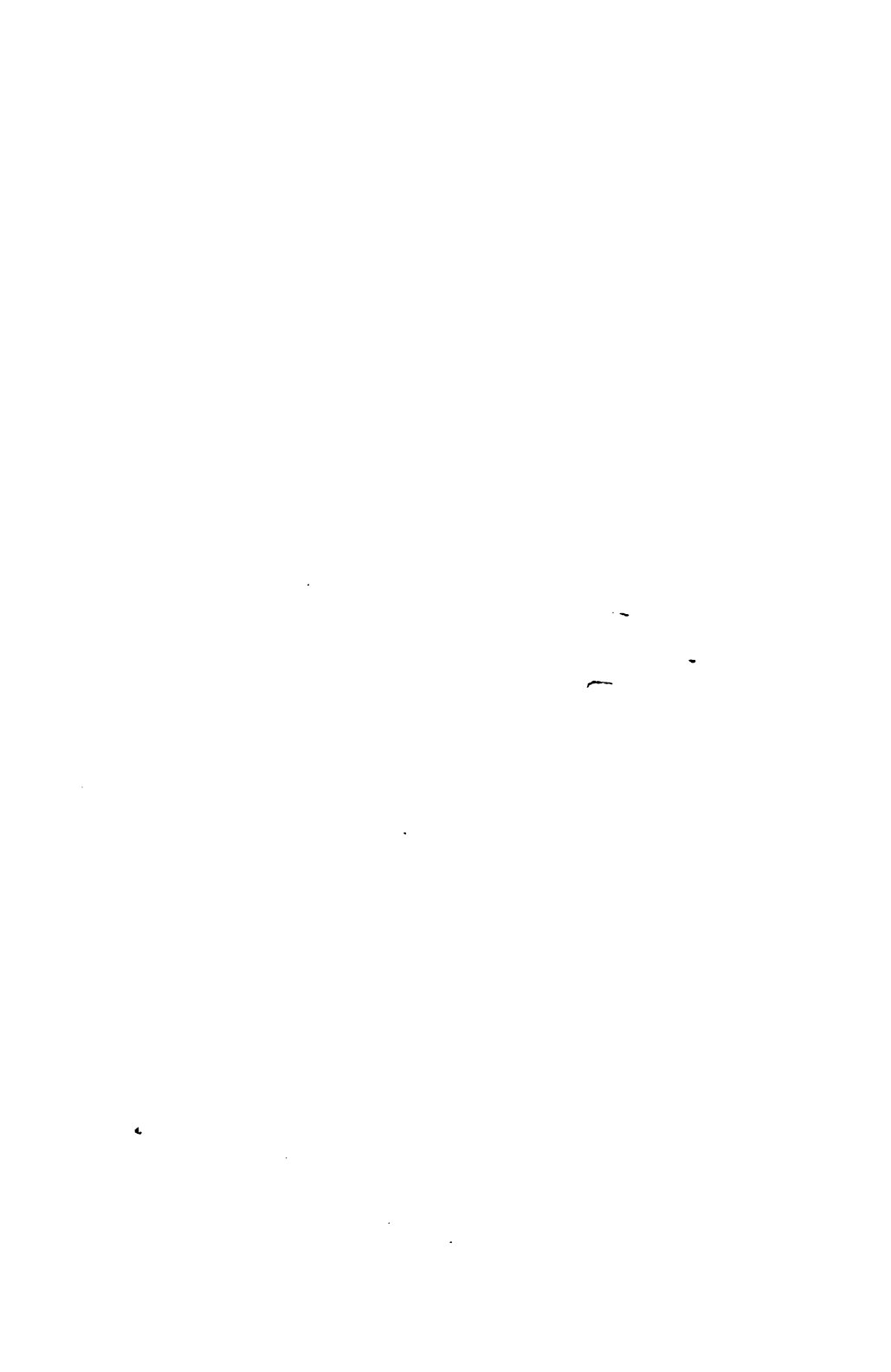
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from the author.

Oct. 1896.



**THE RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY
TO THE CONFLICT BETWEEN CAPITAL
AND LABOUR**



THE
RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY
TO THE CONFLICT BETWEEN
CAPITAL AND LABOUR

BURNEY PRIZE ESSAY

1894

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PREFACE

THE present Essay obtained the Burney Prize at Cambridge in 1894. Since that time it has been revised, with the kind permission of the Examiners. It attempts to deal with the great principles and motives which have acted persistently on the Labour struggle during the Christian centuries. To grasp these motives freshly in the present, and to show how they reach the very heart of our social difficulties, has been the writer's wish.

I am most deeply indebted to the writings of F. D. Maurice and the Bishop of Durham, Dr. Westcott.

My gratitude is due to the Reverend A. Caldecott for looking through the essay, and to the Rev. C. G. Hopkinson and R. J. Milward.

MONKWEARMOUTH,
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TO
MY TUTOR
THE REVEREND C. H. PRIOR
IN
GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE

“ IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE WORD,
AND THE WORD WAS WITH GOD,
AND THE WORD WAS GOD . . .
AND THE WORD WAS MADE FLESH . . .
AND WE BEHELD HIS GLORY . . .
FULL OF GRACE AND TRUTH.”

“ WHEN HE, THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH, IS COME,
HE WILL GUIDE YOU INTO ALL TRUTH ; . . .
AND HE WILL SHOW YOU THINGS TO COME.”

THE RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE CONFLICT BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOUR

INTRODUCTION

THROUGH all the confusion of the present age, with its competing interests and engrossing materialism, a passionate earnestness has arisen for a simplicity of thought and aim and life capable of meeting modern complex needs and of binding all separate efforts for improvement into one. In the present industrial disorder the perplexities are greatest and the needs sorest. Many who have their eyes dazzled by an increase of wealth cannot see the cruelty of self-seeking. The majority, who know the hardness of business methods, are too chilled to acknowledge that highest principles can hold in commerce, and accept a low ideal. Even those who have struggled against the tide of self-seeking have often been at a loss in which way to act. The evil consequences of error have become so great. Smallest actions

affect wider and wider circles. Men's best attempts are checked by the thought,—“This, after all, may do more harm than good.” A life principle is needed, simple enough to be applied to every circumstance, and strong enough to rouse the fire of intense conviction. Its appeal must be commanding and overpowering, if indolence is to be conquered and selfishness quelled.

While a simple, constructive faith has been the need of our age, the forces of destructive criticism have never been so exacting. There has been in a very real sense “a removing of those things that are shaken, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.” Destruction, indeed, for a long time seemed to reign supreme; but through all at last came a new realisation of the simplicity and depth of the Christian message. Men learned to look beyond the crude accretions of later schools back to the Apostolic Age itself. The teachings of St. Paul and St. John gave forth new treasures—seed-thoughts which had been waiting for the breaking up of modern soil to take root. The Incarnation was grasped by thinkers and students as the central fact of history, the one bond of unity all comprehensive and all-inspiring. It is not too much to say with Dr. Hort that we are nearer to-day to apostolic times than any intervening age has been.

This reawakening of thought might have stopped short at the schools, or found an age unprepared to receive it, if it had not touched, at the same time, the great heart of active life. When it did so all was changed. The

message of the Incarnation met half-way the inner workings in the minds of labouring men which had long been struggling for utterance. It spoke of the intrinsic value of every human life, however mean and degraded, for the Lord of heaven and earth had taken to Himself that very human nature by becoming man ; it spoke of social duty and mutual service, for Christ Himself was pleading in the weakest of His brethren ; it spoke of an ideal of society to be aimed at, for among the members of Christ, "When one member suffers, all the members suffer with it ;" it spoke of the nobility of common labour, for Christ had been the Carpenter of Nazareth. Thus, little by little, great truths came home to the toiling multitudes. They saw in the factory struggle the Children's Friend, the Children's Saviour pleading, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me." Amidst all the evils of Trades Unions, men yet learnt there to realise their common brotherhood, suffering bravely together in the hour of trial. By the very greatness of the labour struggle they began to look at the wider social problems, and to regard society as an organism with a corporate life. On every side old voices from the Bible came back to mind with new and vivid meaning—"Am I my brother's keeper?" "Man shall not live by bread alone ;" "No man liveth to himself ;" "All ye are brethren." Such thoughts as these have been caught up one by one as the tide of action reached them, and are shaping the ideals of social life.

It is indeed suggestive to note that the two great commentators upon St. Paul and St. John, Bishops Lightfoot and Westcott, have each devoted their later years to working out their thoughts in action in a stirring northern diocese. It is not without meaning that the student of St. John's Epistles and Gospel was called upon to mediate in one of the greatest of mining disputes.

Great dangers have risen along with great encouragements. There is a danger of weak sentiment taking the place of strong faith. The sterner side of Christ's character is overlooked amidst increasing bodily comforts. The preaching of the Cross is still a stumbling-block to easy-going indolence. But even greater barriers of difficulty have been surmounted in the past.

There is an historical parallel to the present confusion and conflict in the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. The great frame-work of a world unity had then been made complete, but the spirit which could alone give life was wanting. Rome herself was in a false position. She could break down nations with her thirty legions; she could force her laws in the face of ancient custom; she could strive to foster an imperial religion, but she kindled no enthusiasm. The Empire seemed to dread the dissolution she had courted, paralysed in the face of a great ideal, incapable of its attainment. Meanwhile, there was a strange, new glow of life spreading within her dying embers. The little Christian

Church, with one leap, grasped the great ideals of unity and universality, and practised them with a conviction and hope which no persecution could quench. Little by little the influence of Christianity gained ground, and saved in the end the Roman world from utter ruin.

This century has witnessed a similar change. On every side old conditions have been broken up, old barriers swept away. Giant industries, rapid communication, universal commerce, have torn asunder the bonds of ancient custom, and created a frame-work of society more massive and imperial than the Roman sway. The world empire of commercial greed stands facing the tiny empire of devoted lives. Once more men stand paralysed before the forces they have set in motion. In the fierceness of competition, in the selfishness of material progress, the appeal of brotherhood seems nearly lost, and men not wholly selfish are yet helpless and hopeless. The Christian faith on its social side has stood almost disregarded by the world. The time has now come to prove that faith in the wider fields of social life. The very despair and helplessness of men in the face of self-interest and self-seeking should show that the Christian victory is near. The Bishop of Durham at the Birmingham Church Congress, after recalling the rush of competing interests and business difficulties, ended with a question, the solemnity of which few will forget: "Do you believe in the Holy Ghost?" In the face of the vastness of selfishness, and indolence, and indifference, this belief is

sometimes hard ; but the same Holy Spirit Who worked so mightily to change England in the eighteenth century is with us still, speaking in our midst to-day, leading into all truth. We have heard with our ears, and our fathers have told us what mighty works the Lord did in their time, and in the old time before them. The history of the Church has been a progressive revelation of the spirit of truth working through human sin and error and backsliding.

It will be well to gather out some experience of the Christian thoughts of labour in the past. Their story encourages and warns—encourages by showing the fullness of our faith, and its power to deal with every side of life ; warns, as we see selfishness and sloth coming back again and again, and only kept in check by the power of a higher life.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY CHURCH.

WHEN the Christian Church began its history, the Jews were sunk in miserable confusion, intrigue and unrest. Party jealousies were only less bitter than the intense hatred of the foreigner. Greek influence in its decline had been spreading luxury and immorality. The Roman rule was coarse and brutal. Perhaps the saddest picture was the gross religious tyranny of the wealthier leaders of the nation. "People of the earth" was the name which the Pharisees gave to the common people, and the servile crowd, so clearly pictured in St. John, reflected the miserable effects of such a crushing despotism. The terrible denunciations against wealth which our Lord uttered, point to a society deeply disorganised. The extortions of the tax-gatherers were proverbial; huckstering and money-changing had infected even the Temple.

It is a relief to turn to the little band of Christians gathered together in Solomon's porch, who being of one heart and soul counted nought of what they possessed as their own, but had all things in common. It was a most wonderful attempt to express in concrete form the new outpouring of brotherly love. It

was purely voluntary, a free and willing service of self-forgetful love.

Still, voluntary as indeed it was, we cannot but sadly confess that such conditions could not be lasting in the world that then was. Only after a long discipline—of which we cannot even now see the end—could a strength of character be formed, lasting enough to make such an ideal practical and normal except among a chosen few. The trials and sufferings from within and without showed that the time was not yet come for such a full realisation. Still the attempt was not without its fruit. Amidst the selfishness and greed of later ages, this perfect expression of brotherhood has continually kindled unselfish yearnings for a purer state; voluntary brotherhoods of common life have kept the ideal alive before men's eyes. "It was cherished," says Professor Sidgwick, "in the traditions of the Early and Middle Ages as the ideal form of Christian society." Its inspiring effect has not lost power even in modern days, though its essentially voluntary character has been sometimes forgotten.

But a wider world was opening before the Church. The Roman Empire, with which she now came into contact, was feeling the full effects of a great social change. Greek and Eastern influence had each in turn saturated Roman life with luxury; Augustus and Tiberius had tried in vain to stop the advancing tide. The evil increased with gigantic bounds. Freedmen of the worst class—the hungry Greek,

the sordid Asiatic—made enormous fortunes in supplying the luxuries of the capital. Lollia informed Pliny that her dress had cost her £350,000. The country of Italy, in spite of most stringent efforts to prevent it, fell into the hands of greedy capitalists, and was worked by gangs of slaves. The yeomanry were driven back to swell the pauper crowd at Rome. Outside Italy the Government was strong, but the extreme luxury of the higher classes spread in wider and wider circles. The picture of the Ephesian crowd given in the Acts is perhaps the most true and vivid example we have of common-place provincial life and its commercial greed.

The most wide-reaching industrial question which the Early Church was forced to face was that of slavery. Labour in the Greek and Roman world was mainly servile. There seems to have been some lessening of cruelty towards slaves in domestic life, but the condition of those in the country was inhuman in the extreme. It was among these poor slaves that a large part of the early converts was made. St. Paul deals with them very fully in his Epistles. He, on the one hand, is never tired of emphasising the complete equality of brotherhood between bond and free. All distinctions are done away in Christ. The tenderness of the apostle to the runaway Onesimus is one of the most beautiful pictures of the New Testament. "Receive him," he says, "not as a slave, but above a slave, as a brother beloved." On the other hand, he pays heed to existing conditions; he urges the need of

patience; he will have no useless upheaval of society. If, however, an opportunity of obtaining personal freedom should occur, it should be used.

The method involved in this apostolic treatment holds good for all industrial questions. Change of principle is to mould change of environment. The Duke of Argyll has well expressed the truth of this. "There is," he says, "no method of reform so powerful as this:—If alongside any false or corrupt belief, or any vicious and cruel system . . . we can succeed in implanting *one incompatible idea*, then without noise of controversy or clash of battle, those beliefs and customs will wane and die. It was thus that Christianity, without a single word of direct attack, killed off one of the greatest and most universal curses of the pagan world—the ever-deepening curse of slavery." (*Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1894.)

It would be possible to trace down the course of history the progress of this emancipation, and to note the immense influence which was quietly working in the Church to that end,—the influence of worshipping as brothers one heavenly Father, of partaking side by side in one Holy Communion. It would be seen how all the passion for freedom in the northern invaders was directed to sympathy with those in bondage,¹ how, through frequent failure, and in spite of terrible relapses, the end was at last achieved. The

¹ Note especially the step taken by the Church in the laws of the Alamanni, A.D. 662, by which all slaves working on church estates were allowed, besides the Sunday rest, three out of six working days for themselves.

slow but certain solution of this old-world labour problem in the terms of the Christian faith should give patience and hope at the present time.

The question next in importance which Christianity was called upon to face was its relation to property, wealth and trade. The evils of the commercial world at the Christian era have already been noticed. The upstart millionaires, so well known to us from the pages of Martial and Juvenal, give a picture of shameless greed and rapacity, which alone would be likely to bring to Christian minds a strong reaction against trade. Added to this was the fact that trade hostility was for a long time the cause of popular hatred and cruel persecution against Christians. Demetrius and his following at Ephesus are a typical example. Lastly, the conditions of the time, and the unchristian character of many employments, drove many from their former trades, and made a common sharing of mutual hospitality a most frequent occurrence. Under these exceptional circumstances, a great many things were said by the early Fathers, which imply a very imperfect knowledge of normal trade and industry. Their truest teaching is probably not to be found in their theories about the outside heathen world, but in their own practice and mode of life within the Christian Church itself. Of this, unfortunately, we have only scattered hints; but so far as they go, they show the clearest and most definite regard to religious duty in money matters. In the most solemn act of the Eucharist itself, the service ended

with what may be called a "voluntary distribution of wealth," directed, it would seem, by the bishop or president, and ministered by the deacons. The plea for help was real need, and it was given to poor, aged, disabled, strangers, widows and orphans. In the "Teaching" and "Barnabas," the thought that wealth is not one's *own*, but at the service of real need, is emphasised. The latter has the following words: "Thou shalt make thy neighbour partaker in all things, and shalt not say anything is *thine own*, for if ye are sharers in that which is imperishable, how much more in that which is perishable?" The importance of hospitality was so great that some have thought that bishops were first separated from presbyters in order to administer it. Another interesting sidelight on the second century is Lucian's picture of the Christians flocking round the prisons in order to bring help to their brethren in distress. But it will be best to go to the writer who has definitely worked out in a separate treatise the Christian doctrine of wealth. Clement of Alexandria, in many passages, but, above all, in his "*Quis dives salvetur*," gives a very full picture. He lived in the heart of perhaps the richest city in the world, and directs his pupils as follows:—"Seek God, stripped of transitory display, possessed of that which is really *thine own*, which cannot be taken away—faith in God, confession unto Him Who suffered, good-will towards men, which are the most precious of all possessions. . . . To condemn frugality through stupid luxury—what

a huge error! The Lord ate from a common bowl, and washed their feet girded with a towel—He, the lowly God, the Lord of the universe! He asked to drink of the Samaritan woman who drew water in earthenware from the well. He made *use*, not *luxury*, His aim. In food, clothing, furniture, I say comprehensively, one must follow such Christian disposition as is serviceable and suitable to one's person, age, pursuit. It becomes those who are servants of one God that their possessions and furniture exhibit tokens of one beautiful life." "Wealth when not properly governed is a very fortress of evil." "All we possess is given for use. . . . He who gives to none becomes the poorer. Not he who keeps, but he who gives, is truly rich. Liberality is a fruit of the Spirit; righteousness alone is true riches. Does he not possess all who has God for his everlasting treasure?" "We must cast away a multitude of vessels, silver and gold drinking-cups, and crowds of domestics, receiving, as we have done, from the Instructor the fair and grave handmaids, Self-help and Simplicity. He who climbs the steep of heaven by force must carry the fair staff of charity." In the "Quis dives" he carries out in detail these positions. "What was it," to paraphrase his argument, "our Lord wished the rich young man to give up? Not so much the mere wealth itself, as the spirit of wealth, the disease, cares, thorns of worldly wealth, which were springing up and choking the good seed. Our Lord accepted hospitality from

Matthew, the rich publican, and Zacchæus, and said, 'To-day is salvation come to this house.' The *use* of wealth the Lord commends, and presses home its responsibilities. "Riches," says Clement, "must not be thrown away, but used." "Do your riches rule you, or you rule your riches?" "Let not the rich either despair of salvation, or, as it were, drown their riches in the sea, but learn how to *use* them." "'To whom,' do you ask, 'shall I give?' Open your heart to all! Make friends! Oh, the sweet service of friends! Love spending itself is of God, *is* God! For this He came down to earth, for this He willingly suffered, that He, measured to our weakness, might give us the measure of His strength! And when He was about to offer Himself a sacrifice, and give Himself a ransom, He left us the New Testament—'My own love I give to you.' *This* He asks of us in return for one another—to lay down our lives for the brethren. *This* is our New Testament, and he that loveth not his brother is a murderer; he has not the heart of God." . . . And then Clement goes on to show how persistent and self-spending and whole-hearted this love is by telling that most beautiful of all stories, how the aged apostle, St. John, brought back from a life of sin and shame the dissolute robber chief by the pleading of his Christian love. Thus the Christian use of wealth is bound up with the spirit of the new commandment of "love," which will work out its details in infinite ways by its own inventiveness.

While, in common practical life, this position was taken up by Clement and other Fathers, in theory they often seem to have regarded communism in property as the true ideal. "Do let us remember," says Gregory Nazianzen, "God's law, which is highest and first. He rains upon just and unjust, and makes His sun to shine upon all. . . . Pray let us reflect that poverty or riches are later effects on the race of men; but in the beginning it was not so." Athanasius has the beautiful thought that the Incarnation issuing in the Cross and Passion has undone the misery of the Fall, and that there is a redemptive process spreading over material things.

One more picture may be given in this slight sketch, the picture of Leo the Great, the one strong ruler in a decaying age, whose wonderful influence affected every field of life. Practical, careful, generous alms-giving, represents with him the Christian duty with regard to wealth. Alms-giving covers one great field of the religious life, and is the typical duty towards one's neighbour. His wise, terse words on trade may well end this chapter—" *Qualitas* lucri aut excusat aut arguit: quia honestus quaestus aut turpis." "It is the *quality* of gain that either excuses or condemns; profit is either honourable or base."

CHAPTER II.

THE DARK AND MIDDLE AGES.

PERHAPS the greatest curse which slavery brought into the world was this, that it degraded work and manual labour and made it a thing too mean and vulgar for a freeborn man. The sense of the dignity of work and service which our Lord brought home to men in parable and precept, was long in breaking down this unchristian prejudice. The scene of the Lord Himself performing the servile duty of washing the disciples' feet was indeed before men's eyes continually, but only by slow degrees was its lesson learnt. The long discipline of the monastic life of active service, continued through the darkest ages of the Western World, alone preserved the dignity of work for future ages. In the lonely forests of Germany, in the wild tracts of heathen lands, the Order of St. Benedict spent their days in quiet work and prayer. To them, in that noblest of monastic sentences, work itself was prayer. Through centuries of barbarism and gloom, in which the fair light of humanity seemed almost to have left the earth, the monastery, with its peaceful labour and devotion, shone out like a light in the gathering darkness. The wildest forces of anarchy

and passion were awed by these living lessons of quiet work and discipline. Thus painfully and slowly, one of the greatest of industrial struggles was won. The dignity of labour was at last brought home to man.

It is a strangely stirring sight to watch the new life flowing back through all the lands of Europe as the romance and wonder of the Middle Ages begin. Single beautiful ideals from the Gospel Story were passionately held, and lived out with a devotion incomplete indeed, but of wonderful power, in the age that then was. With the monastic Orders, renunciation was the ideal of life with regard to wealth and worldly goods. In the present century it is hard to realise its power: the present many-sided life seems to leave little room for such a simple solution. There is something strangely bewildering to us in the passionate eagerness for a life of poverty, the rapid changes from wealth to penury, from a kingdom to a monastic cell. It is hard to grasp a social life in which such revolutions continually occurred. We read, to take one example, how fifteen young German nobles, while intent on a murderous raid, pass the night in the Abbey of Morimond. They are deeply impressed with the simple poverty of the monks. In the stillness of midnight the solemn chant rings through the cloister, and brings awe to their wild hearts. The next morning finds them all upon their knees before the Abbot Walter, eager to leave their wealth and station for a life of holy poverty. It is true the desire for wealth returned. Under the specious form

of sacred property it brought decay to the Orders, and failure on their protest to the age. But the faith was never lost. In wonderful succession new Orders rose above the ruins of the old, each more sternly severe than its forerunner. When at last the monastic life seemed dead, the same ideal worked its greatest wonders. Francis of Assisi, with all the brightness of young life about him, hears in the solemn service of the Church the Gospel words, "Provide neither gold nor silver." From that moment he takes poverty to himself. "Are you thinking of a bride?" said a friend lightly to him, seeing his earnest gaze. "Yes," he replied, "of a bride nobler, richer, and more beautiful than your fancy can conceive," and so, writes his chronicler, "he looked on poverty with kindly eyes, and chose her for his bride, whom none had chosen since the blessed Lord Himself." To the venal Roman Court he came, ragged and bare, quoting the words, "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor." He sent forth, without purse or scrip, his new Order, and the whole of Europe was kindled into life.

No one would to-day deny that their ideal of life was incomplete. There lay beneath it a fatal dualism. The end in view was Christian abstinence rather than Christian use. But the principle of renunciation, brought home to men in such burning deeds of sacrifice, could not be lost. It has become inherited and ingrained in our race. If England has won fame for peaceful settlement of her disputes by mutual goodwill, if the yielding of privilege has continually averted

disaster, if the race for wealth has been tempered and checked by a spirit of self-denial, the result is due more than we think to an inheritance of those ages, when wealth was willingly abandoned and its renunciation regarded as an ideal of perfection.

Perhaps an even more striking picture of the Middle Ages is given in the Guilds. If, as students of industrial life, we were transported back into the thirteenth century, we should feel, as we walked the streets of the busy rising town, and watched the craftsmen gathering in their Guild Hall, or walking in stately procession to the great cathedral church, that here we were face to face with a subject of the very deepest interest. From the earliest recorded time the Christian Church had set her seal upon the guilds. If Medieval art has given a living expression to the devotion of the age, the guilds have handed down its busy, active Catholicity. When in the capitulary of Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims in the year 858, laymen "unite for offerings, for mutual assistance, for funerals of the dead, for alms and other deeds of piety," the secret of guild life is told—the ideal of brotherhood. In the earliest statutes of Abbotsbury and Exeter the leading objects are stated to be "the mutual care of sick brothers in life, and prayers for their souls at death." In the Cambridge statutes the principal aim is mutual protection from wrong-doing. But the ideal of guild life was capable of much further expansion. As increased activity in trade and commerce sprang up, when Europe

awoke from the torpor of the Dark Ages, the spirit of brotherhood found a wider field. The free burghers of the growing towns united gradually into "merchant guilds," which regulated the industry of each little town. In many cases these brotherhoods contained the whole number of free burghers. At first there seems to have been little class distinction. A striking example is the fact that the earliest university guilds were framed upon a democratic basis. As the wealth, however, grew, the older guilds were closed to newcomers. There was a continual danger of exclusiveness. Craftsmen and merchants began to be distinguished. A strong endeavour was made to resist this degradation. We read how the townsmen of Berwick, in 1283, decided to organise themselves anew into one common guild. "All shall be members, having one head, one in council, one body, strong and friendly." Federal guild brotherhoods joining distant towns together showed the energy of the guild life. Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxburgh, Berwick, united in one Scotch guild. On the banks of the Rhine these federal guilds took an even more administrative turn, keeping the public peace and order. They seemed likely at one time to have their issue in a succession of republics. Their ordinances ensured protection to wealthy and poor alike.

But men's passions and interests were continually tending to overmaster the great principles, on which the guilds were founded. Work began once more to be degrading in the eyes of those who had made

their wealth. In some guilds, members were only admitted after they had "forsworn their trade for a year and a day." On the Continent this separation led to a fierce labour struggle between the artisan and burgher aristocracy. The heat of passion and prejudice broke through the ties of brotherhood. In England, however, there are scarcely any traces of such a struggle. The generous thought of the age kept in check class friction and selfishness. The craft guilds either sprang directly from the merchant guilds, or were organised by local authority. In some trades mixed governments of patricians and craftsmen ruled the trade of the community.

But before the end of the fourteenth century the complaint began to be urged, that the powers granted to the crafts were being used for selfish purposes. The share in management tended more and more to depend on wealth and influence. The rule of the few oppressed the many, and brought jealousy and discontent into the craft guilds. Side by side with this a wave of independent thought and feeling swept over the country. The great plague of 1348-9 had caused a serious unsettlement of industrial, social and political ideas. The "Coming of the Friars" at first, and Wiclif's "Poor Priests" later, stirred the hearts of the lower people with enthusiasm and roused their independence. It was to the people that both these great religious movements appealed most directly. "Good people," preached John Ball of Kent, "this will never

be well in England so long as there be villeins and gentlemen! Why do they hold us in serfage? They have leisure and fine houses; we have pain and labour; and yet it is of us, and of our toil, that these men hold their estate." This religious and social movement among the people aided the two labour efforts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—the extinction of villeinage and the formation of journeymen into new brotherhoods. The latter were due to the exclusiveness of the Crafts, and were viewed by them with great disfavour. As, however, the Crafts had succeeded the Merchants, so the journeymen might have partly taken the place of the Crafts. But the movement came too late in England. New ideas of the nation and of the individual were springing into birth. Before these changes the spirit of the guilds was slowly dying, and the fresh energy of the lower grades of labour could not quicken them into life. Complaints about guild-tyranny were frequent during the general corruption of the fifteenth century. Church life, too, was for a time decaying. The guild tyranny was partly stopped by the control of justices of the peace. In the sixteenth century the government passed into the hands of a body called the "Court of Assistants," which was merely a close corporation. Dr. Cunningham has shown that by the time of the Reformation the craft guilds had so degenerated that they both failed to keep order, and served to depress the workmen. Two severe political blows caused at last their breaking up. The "disendowment of religion," as

Prof. Ashley calls it, in 1547, broke the religious bond, which had remained firm during the changes of the guilds. In the second place, the growth of national feeling caused the guilds more and more to be placed under State control, and this crippled their free and varied life. The Act of Elizabeth, in 1563, in many ways superseded the guilds. Their ordinances, however, were left as a precious legacy to the State, and formed the basis of the new State Law.

In regarding the work of the guilds, it must not be forgotten that the conditions of industry until the times of Elizabeth were local and isolated. The problems were presented on a minute scale compared with our modern difficulties. There were no teeming multitudes and overcrowded towns. Great and true as their ideal was, it only dealt with a small area of life, and did not come face to face with the complications which beset us on every side. Still they too had difficulties which we have not, and we cannot too deeply admire the men who, surrounded by a confusion and anarchy of passion and barbarism, and tempted by like struggles within themselves, kept alive the spirit of brotherhood, which rose strong above each impulse to selfishness and greed. We can look forward with confidence to the fresh conquests of the faith, which inspired them and drew their hearts so strongly to peace and good-will.

To complete the sketch of the Christian conception of trade in the Middle Ages, it will be necessary to

go back and see how the abstract thinkers of the time worked out the relation of their Christianity to industrial conditions. The general theories of the early Fathers condemning usury could not fail on the whole to be a boon during the Dark Ages, when life was devoid of any commerce except to supply the luxury of princes. The Church rebuked the greed of the powerful, and created a public feeling on the side of charity. But in the eleventh century, as the new life flowed back through the peoples of Europe, fresh problems rose. Towns, fairs, guilds, crafts, springing into existence, required a remodelling of economic laws. Bologna brought in a revival of old Roman ideas of trade. These recognised absolute private ownership, usury, and unrestricted contract. The Church, on the other hand, clung to the teaching of the Fathers, and felt the need of making safeguards for the poor. The two most striking positions which she bound herself to maintain at all costs were the obligation of "just price" between buyer and seller, and the condemnation of "usury." Thomas Aquinas will give most clearly the doctrine of "just price." In effecting a sale, it is the moral duty of both buyer and seller to strive to reach a fair price according to recognised standards. The seller is to use true measures, to state openly any flaws in the article sold. Trade is not admissible for mere gain in itself, which betokens avarice—a deadly sin. The rules against "usury" were still more stringent. It must here be noted that both in Biblical times and in the Early Church, under the limits of trade as it was

then seen, "usury" came much more nearly to the modern use of the word "usury" than that of "interest." In the Middle Ages it was associated with the exactions of the Jews. Prof. Ashley has shown how, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, there was a very small field for the investment of capital for productive purposes; that money was only needed to meet some sudden disaster, such as famine, war, or illness, or else for religious purposes, such as the building of a cathedral or preparation for a crusade. To make profit on such needs by trading on distress or urgency was the idea attached to usury in the Middle Ages, and against such usury the Church protested. By forbidding it, she prevented the weak and distressed becoming a prey of the strong. The rise of the Franciscans, with their ideal of poverty, gave great strength to the Church. Clement V. boldly declared all civil law concerning usury to be null and void. People who engaged in usury were to be excommunicated and condemned as heretics.

But as trade and industry progressed new difficulties arose. The value of loans and partnerships as aids to production on a wider scale began to dawn upon men's minds. The area of commerce was on all sides being enlarged. At last, in the fifteenth century, the new problems of industry roused the energy of Christian thinkers. A school of writers named the Canonists started to form a complete doctrine of trade, founded on premises laid down by the Church. From the highest moral sense of the time as to right and wrong,

they drew up a body of rules as to trade conduct. They worked back from the moral fitness of things to what was lawful and expedient. Biel's work on the "Power and Use of Money" is a part of his Christian dogmatics. The most interesting of their positions were :—

- (a) The relation of wealth to station.
- (b) Of labour to property.
- (c) Of interest and loan.
- (d) Of rent and ownership.
- (e) Of partnership and business management.

(a) Wealth as an end in itself was completely forbidden. Wealth was only to be sufficient to provide for man's God-given status in society. To amass wealth in order to go beyond this was avarice, one of the seven deadly sins. Crowley in the sixteenth century best describes the medieval theory of status :—

"Thou that art born a gentleman
As thou dost hold of the king,
So doth thy tenant hold of thee,
And is allowed a living
As well as thou, in his degree."

Thus, the only true claim to wealth is proper observance of the duties of station. In those above, this observance depends on the service of help and protection ; in those below, on the service of willing obedience.

(b) The next theory of the Canonists was that production was due to labour. "God and the labourer," says one writer, "are the true lords of all that serves for the use of men; all others are either distributors or beggars." Wealth, therefore, it follows, is a *debt* to be returned to the labourer in the service of protection and care.

(c) Interest. The theory of the "just price" now combined with and considerably modified the earlier condemnation of usury. It was recognised by all that direct loss from loan (*damnum emergens*) ought to be repaid. Soon it was seen, further, that the time itself, during which the money lent was in abeyance, represented a direct loss from loan, which equally demanded a just price when the money was returned. The earliest method of interest was for the merchant to lend the money for a stated period, and when the loan was not repaid, to claim a just price for its loss. The charity loans, called "mountains of piety," introduced by the Franciscans, helped the process still further. The two main positions which the Church had set forth—the condemnation of usury and the duty of "just price"—thus in the end corrected one another. The Canonists welcomed the solution as a means of freeing the hands of the rising industries; at the same time they were most anxious to avoid the acceptance of usury itself as a principle.

(d) The "just price" was carried still further in the matter of rent charges. These, at first forbidden as a form of usury, were gradually allowed under definite

conditions. They were to be received from real or actual property only, and were to represent the just price due to the owner for his loss.

(e) In partnerships the Canonists' aim was to keep wealth closely joined with responsibility. Partnerships could only be allowed where the management was shared. Partaking in the profits was conditional upon sharing in the risk of failure. To bargain for a fixed reward on capital as, what would now be called, a "sleeping partner," was considered usury, and generally forbidden.

These briefly were the positions of the Canonists, by which they endeavoured to bring Christian principle to bear on business life. Their principles have often been ridiculed and termed the "shreds of scholasticism," but the more deeply modern commercial morality is studied, the more their true greatness will be felt. Even their theory of usury will repay a careful study, and has much still to teach. To take one example only—in the *Economic Journal* for July, 1893, we read:—"Much has been said of the impracticability of such a principle (*i.e.*, 'Lend, expecting nothing in return'), but modern investigation has shown, that on purely economic grounds the solution of some of our most difficult problems depends upon its application. It has yet to be proved that increased expenditure in the interests of the poorer has been attended with any dislocation of commerce . . . for the poverty of the poor is not only their own destruction, but in the long-run will be the destruction of

the nation." It must not be forgotten, moreover, in judging the Canonists, that they were working in new ground. Their partial crudity may well be forgiven if the greatness of their aim is considered, and the principles which they unflinchingly affirmed are kept in view. In their own age their teaching seems to have greatly benefited the poorer people. The Church sided with the poor in their weakness, and won their sympathy by rescuing them from the hard conditions of usury. When trade grew wider, partnerships, rent, and interest, were one by one allowed with distinct and thoughtful restrictions. The equity of moderate interest in special cases was being admitted still further when the Reformation came. "Usury," it was allowed, "is only when gain is sought on a thing not fruitful without labour, risk, or expense on the part of the lender." The Reformation brought at first a reactionary movement, especially on the Roman side, in favour of more rigorous views; but chiefly through Navarrus on the one hand and Melanchthon and Calvin on the Protestant side, the broader views of interest gradually won the day.

To sum up the conclusions reached in this chapter:—Three great ideals corresponding to three great movements sprang from the heart of the Christian Church, and deeply affected the wealth and industry of the Middle Ages. The ideal of holy poverty was brought home to men by the great religious Orders, and was seen in its greatest beauty in St. Francis. The ideal of brotherhood was the strength and life of the guilds.

The ideal of justice lay at the root of the earnest efforts for just price and moral trade, which the Canonists made.

CHAPTER III.

THE SPIRIT OF THE REFORMATION.

A NEW atmosphere of thought came with the Reformation. While the conditions of labour settled down under the direction of the statutes, and no fresh energy of invention broke the monotony of industry, men's inner lives were laid open to a new world of thought and feeling. For the two succeeding centuries practically no change in methods of work was effected. The energies of thinkers were called to other fields. It was in the great spiritual drama acted out by nations and kingdoms, bringing revolution and upheaval of empires in its train, that the seeds were sown which were to bear fruit in the social struggles of the present time. It will be well to leave the direct path of industry for a time, and pay regard to the religious spirit of the age.

The plea of the individual conscience to be listened to with a divine authority of its own was the heaven-sent message of the Reformation. Men rushed from a credulous reliance on things external to find a solid ground on which to rest. They found it each in his own way in the individual witness of the heart. All else in the world seemed unimportant in com-

parison with this witness. God and the individual soul were the two tremendous realities. Naturally in such a reaction private undisciplined opinion ran riot. There was no deep social bond to modify and curb extravagances. In Puritanism the change appears in its most emphatic form. When that faith, so intensely individual, rose into supreme command, even the iron will of Cromwell could not check division and conflict. "The great end of your meeting," he said to Parliament, "is healing and settling." But "nothing was in their hearts," he sadly confesses, "but overturn, overturn." "Dissettlement and division," he said on another occasion, "discontent and dissatisfaction have been multiplied more in five months than in some years before." Hobbes could only conceive of Society as "that great leviathan called Commonwealth or State, which is but an artificial man." The ideal of religious life is given in "Pilgrim's Progress," representing the single soul as fleeing from the City of Destruction on its lonely pilgrimage.

With the Restoration came a grossly material reaction against this stern and solitary view of human life. But the true manhood of the nation was roused once more by the tyranny of James II. Later still, at the end of the century, a most remarkable revival of religious fellowship was begun, from which many of our great church societies took their rise. Brotherhoods of earnest young men joined together for common worship and for united charity towards their fellow countrymen. The Society for Promoting

Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Charity Schools, Parochial Libraries, Societies for the Reformation of Manners—these, with many others, show the range and energy of the movement. But this momentary gleam was lost amidst the strife of tongues of Lower Convocation, Bangorian controversies and Sacheverell riots.

The nation now sank back to a cautious mediocrity. Prudential teaching became the order of the day. A morbid dread of Puritanism on the one hand and Romanism on the other paralysed activity. Worse than all, the Christian message itself was grossly perverted. It was defended against the Deists as a "safe" and "comfortable" religion. "Government by rewards and punishments," "the expedience of belief," and similar inducements, are set forth in the sermons of the day with a cold calculation which is chilling even to read. It is true that Dr. Johnson could answer a Presbyterian who talked of fat bishops and drowsy deans, "Sir, you know no more of our Church than a Hottentot"; but whatever their merits in other ways, their moral power and influence was gone. In their writings there is a cry of utter helplessness in face of the growing indolence, gambling, sloth, drunkenness, and impurity. Society was sinking to the very lowest ebb, and good men looked on with their hands folded in despair. The State had legislated; literary writers such as Addison had used their influence; severe punishments had been inflicted on vice, but England had only sunk lower

and lower into spiritual death, until Whitfield and Wesley came.

Few pages in the history of any nation are more wonderful than the great religious revival of the eighteenth century, and its power over the lives of men. The labouring men and women of England awoke as one awakes out of a long and weary sleep. The story, so startling and powerful, has often been told:—The tens of thousands gathered under the cold frosty sky to hear the preachers; the gaunt and grimy miners standing motionless in awe, while the great tears traced white furrows down their cheeks as they heard of the Love of God; the homes of drunkards and profligates breathing only purity and peace; the mute lips and saintly faces of the preachers as they were stoned and wounded by the mob; the burning charity of the converts, spending itself in acts of kindness on their persecutors. Two scenes only can be given here from the lives of the two great leaders. The first is on the hill of Walsall, where Wesley stands almost beaten to death with wounds, his white hair streaming in the wind, his lips moving in silent prayer, while over him, stirred at last to pity, stand a prize-fighter and a butcher keeping back the mob. The second is the picture of Whitfield, when a fallen woman crept up to him and placed in his hand a note in which was written: "What shall I do to express my thanks to my good God? . . . If you have any regard to a poor, blind, naked wretch, who is not only dust but sin, you will

not reject my request that I, even I, may forsake all to persevere in a virtuous life," and the next moment a little child of seven put her hand in his and asked that she might go and stay with him in his Orphans' Home in Georgia.

The message of the Methodists was mainly the suffering Christ:—"He loved me and gave Himself for me." This they brought home to men in a thousand ways, and it woke through the length and breadth of England a devotion unequalled since the days of St. Francis of Assisi. With Whitfield as well as Wesley there was only one test of true religion, "to love God with all your heart and your neighbour as yourself." The new spirit and life awakened by them has been at the very root of the strong effort and passion for a better order, which has been working through this century. There is no more important factor in the present labour movement than the Methodist revival.

"The Methodists themselves," says J. R. Green, "were the least result of the Methodist movement. The action upon the Church broke the lethargy of the clergy, and the 'Evangelical' movement, which found representatives like Newton and Cecil within the pale of the Establishment, made the fox-hunting parson and the absentee rector at last impossible. In Walpole's day the English clergy were the idlest and most lifeless in the world. In our own time no body of religious ministers surpasses them in piety, in philanthropic energy, or in popular regard. In the

nation at large appeared a new moral enthusiasm which, rigid and pedantic as it often seemed, was still healthy in its social tone, and whose power was seen in the disappearance of profligacy, which had disgraced the upper classes, and the foulness, which had infested literature ever since the Restoration. But the noblest result of the religious revival was the steady attempt which has never ceased from that day to this to remedy the guilt, the ignorance, the physical suffering, the social degradation, of the profligate and the poor. It was not till the Wesleyan movement had done its work that the philanthropic movement began. The Sunday-schools established by Mr. Raikes of Gloucester at the close of the century, were the beginnings of popular education. By writings and by her own personal example, Hannah More drew the sympathy of England to the poverty and crime of the agricultural labourer. The passionate impulse of human sympathy with the wronged and afflicted raised hospitals, endowed charities, built churches, sent missionaries to the heathen, supported Burke in his plea for the Hindoo, and Clarkson and Wilberforce in their crusade against the iniquity of the slave trade."

This calm estimate of a most impartial historian is not one whit more than is due to the great religious revival of the last century, starting among the working-classes of this country, and spreading to America and the Continent. In the great industrial struggle that was to follow, in the generous answer

to the efforts of such men as Lord Shaftesbury, Carlyle, Kingsley, in all the burning passion for right and justice, for pity and generosity which has marked this century, there must never be forgotten the fact, that England was sunk in almost selfish death till Wesley came, and that it was the very labouring classes, who then were raised from drunkenness and sin to lives of heroic sacrifice.

But while the Reformation and the great revival of the last century gave to the individual character and stamina for the coming labour conflict, the movement was incomplete in itself, and in its results. Its leaders did not see life steadily, and see it whole. They were too fast bound to the individual, and the incompleteness of this standpoint, if taken alone, had to be learnt through the most cruel suffering and confusion of a terrible world crisis—in France, through the individual anarchy of the Revolution; in England, by the degrading misery of the labour conflict.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NEW INDUSTRY.

THE publication, in 1776, of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," marks the best starting-point of the new industry. He relates there how it took three weeks to carry loads of goods from London to Edinburgh; how workmen were bound down to the place where they were born, and lived and died in the same house, and the same trade; how long trains of pack-horses carried the goods to the great fairs. The domestic system of work made little difference between master and man. Farmers and farm labourers were on almost equal terms.

The new inventions came. In a few years all was changed. England was taken by surprise. Before men had even time to think, the great steps, with all their vast consequences, were taken. Old trades were ruined; new methods sprang up; invention followed upon invention. Some were suddenly plunged into the depths of poverty, while others were rolling in unexpected wealth. The wild confusion that ensued can only be compared with the growth of towns and settlements round a newly-opened gold

district. Thousands were huddled into the factory towns among smoke, and steam, and whirling wheels, their old homes broken, their old ties lost. Riches, gained with ease and rapidity by many, caused an indifference and inhumanity which was appalling; falling incomes, on the other hand, made many pinch their domestic workers to the last penny in order to compete with the machines.

The change in the relation of workmen to employers was saddest of all. Under old conditions a contemporary writes:—"Master and men were so joined in sentiment, and, if I may be permitted to use the term, to *love* one another, that they did not wish to be separated if they could help it." A few years later a master could write:—"It is as impossible to effect a union between the high and low classes of society as to mix oil and water. There can be no union, because it is the interest of the employer to get as much work as he can done for the smallest sum possible." The great changes in farming had the same effect. "The labourer," said Cobbett, "had ceased to be a member of the farmer's household, and was thrust out of the farm-house into a hovel." The great plea of the "Wealth of Nations" for a free industry was only carried out on the side of the factory owners. Everything that hampered them was neglected or altered. The labourer, on the other hand, was bound hand and foot by the most galling burdens preventing his free action. The Poor Law of the time served only

to excite the greed of the employer, and rob the workman of his self-respect. In 1793, for instance, two families, which were reduced to penury, were each given an acre of land to cultivate for themselves. This saved the poor rate £40 per annum. But it was at once stopped as being "dangerous," and making "the labourer independent." The Berkshire justices declared that the labourers were not receiving enough to live upon, and added that, if the employers could not increase the wages, the poor rates should make up the amount. This pernicious system aggravated the evil ten-fold, increasing the greed of the masters, and pauperising and degrading the men. Meanwhile, between 1760 and 1818, the poor rate rose with leaps and bounds, the burden of this falling most heavily on the land.

The workmen themselves were too dazed by the rush and suddenness of the change to offer any but a blind resistance. They were crowded together in new places, separated from their employers, hemmed in by legal restrictions, and unsoftened by the familiar ties of their home, which they had left for work. Revolution was in the air, and savage riots and rick-burnings revealed flashes of the smothered flame of misery and discontent; but as yet the men acted with the wildness of despair, not with the settled earnestness of conviction and hope.

A darker side of the picture is still to be drawn. The upstart manufacturers were ready to sacrifice all to cheapness of labour. One writer says:—"The true interests of a manufacturing community can only be

effectually promoted by competition, which hinders the rise of wages among workmen." The political economy of the day endorsed the statement. The result soon was that in quick succession women took the place of men in the factories, and lastly, children took the place of both. Parents protested against sending their children to the factories. They knew the cruelty and vice with which they would meet. But wages went lower and lower, and the price of bread rose higher. The war with France brought misery and want unspeakable, and the parents at last gave way, and let the children go.

This was not all. In order to cheapen labour still further, the workhouses were drained of their children. Traders in child-labour sprang up to keep the factory owners supplied with paupers. Canal boats and wagons, crowded with these wretched, starving boys and girls, passed through the country with their load of human misery, doomed to the most terrible slavery. "In stench, in heated rooms, amid the constant whirling of a thousand wheels, little fingers and little feet were kept in ceaseless action, forced into unnatural activity by blows from the heavy hands and feet of the merciless overlooker." They slept in relays upon filthy mattresses, with no distinction of sex. Irons were often riveted to their ankles to prevent their escape. The pages of the Blue Books are wakened to a terrible interest by this inhuman misery. Southey, in one of his letters to Mr. May, writes that "the slave trade is a mercy compared to it." According to Dr

Gaskell, the physical status of the manufacturing classes was degraded to the lowest point. In the evidence before the Parliamentary Commissions, it was shown that the number of adult male workmen was scarcely 23 per cent. Parents became their own children's paupers. The children soon got tired of helping them, made callous by their unnatural conditions. They left their parents, said Lord Ashley, with a "Damn you, we have to keep *you*," and went off. Many young girls, amidst the awful temptations and weakening of home influence, were ruined before they reached the age of thirteen or fourteen. The poorhouse was filled with people old before their time, displaced by children. "Here," said Carlyle, "sat a considerable part of the nation as if enchanted, fit for work in the midst of a fair world inviting them—held back in idleness as if by an invisible ban."

The Church was so strangely narrowed down to the saving of individual souls, that the enormity of the social wrong was not yet realised. In the matter of foreign missions or slavery the social aspect of Christianity had been instinctively grasped, but factories were handed over to political economy. It was given to Malthus to attempt to justify the ways of man to God. "By making," he says, "the passion of self-love incomparably stronger than that of benevolence, the more ignorant pursue the general happiness—an end they would totally fail to attain if the moving principle had been benevolence;—for this, in a being so short-sighted as

man, would lead to the gravest errors, and transform the fair and cultivated soil of human society into a dreary scene of want and confusion."

In the field of thought the same poverty of ideals prevailed. Adam Smith, living in the old era of obsolete restrictions, had pleaded almost passionately for a free industry. He would have pleaded no less passionately against the one-sided development which actually took place. The principles he enunciated were carried to extremes by his successors, from which his strong wisdom and historical method would have saved him. Production was the one theme at which all worked exclusively. Men were so many counters in production, whose price was put at subsistence level. As the pool of labour was never empty, and could always be drawn from, wages could clearly never mount much above starvation point. Malthus suggested that the only way of escape was for the workmen themselves to decrease their numbers. Any manufacturers who had instincts of generosity or pity were chilled as they heard about the "iron law of wages." That Mr. John Bright, one of the noblest-minded men of the century, could have called even the "Ten Hours Bill" "one of the worst measures passed in the shape of legislation," shows to what a state of blindness a hard and fast theory could reduce men's minds.

But the facts had only to be really known by those whose hearts had been touched by the love and sorrow of the suffering Christ, and sooner or later

a change must come. The two things that were standing in the way were a dread of the economists and a most intensely individual theory, that Christianity did not deal with social and industrial conditions. But Christian sympathy soon broke through the bonds of theory. It was impossible to realise the Passion of our Lord, and look with indifference on His suffering children.

This thought was practically the motive power of all the great reformers, which first stirred themselves, and by which afterwards they stirred the nation. It is striking to note that one, who in many ways was the most narrowly "evangelical," Lord Ashley (better known as the Earl of Shaftesbury), was the main mover in the great reform. In rapid succession since then, each great part of the one Church life has welcomed the social message of Christianity. There has been a continuous revolt among the most earnest men of every school of thought from the individualism of the last century. To the Evangelicals in their great leader, Lord Ashley, belongs the honour of starting this revolt. Since then each fresh movement of Christian thought has most firmly laid hold of men, just where it has brought home the Christian social message. Even such movements of our own day as the Salvation Army and the Church Army have found their most solid strength in their social work.

But welcomed as each genuine effort of social work is now, it was indeed a serious step to take in Lord Ashley's time. He was obliged to act in the face of

the opposition of economists, and very many of the sentiments of his own religious body. But from the moment he became convinced that it was a real Christian duty, he went forward with the most unflinching resolution. He asked his wife if she was ready to sacrifice herself and him to the coming struggle, and she supported and cheered him most nobly. He made from the first, with infinite pains, the most careful examination of the factories. There he saw the "crippled and distorted" children, whose deformities were so terrible that they seemed to him "like a mass of crooked alphabets." There he gathered real facts with his own eyes. People, he felt truly, did not know the facts, and if only they were clearly stated the day must be won. Richard Oastler of Bradford was his staunch supporter. He had grasped the idea of a Christian State, and placed this thought in the forefront of his work. As the laws of the State were to be directed by Christian principle, so Christian principle, at all cost, should govern British trade. England was losing its right to be called a Christian State, for the poor and oppressed had the very first claim on any Christian government. Sadler was the Parliamentary spokesman of the movement. It was his deeply earnest Christianity which sustained him through the continued struggle. "I am persuaded," he repeated year after year, "that 'ten hours' can never be receded from by those who love the children, or wish to gain the approbation of Him, Who was their Friend and Lover."

Thus through the first sharp conflict one great message of the Incarnation won its way back into a forgetful world. The thought, that the Lord had consecrated every human life and every age of life by sharing our nature, was being dimly conceived afresh from the midst of the suffering of the weak and helpless children. Men came to see that humanity, however degraded or sunk, was sacred in His eyes, Who Himself was made man and suffered and died, Who was the Child of Bethlehem and Nazareth, as well as the thorn-crowned King of Calvary.

While the struggle for the children's liberty was thus being gradually brought to a victorious end, the workmen waking from their dazed bewilderment drew together in intense class hatred against the tyranny of the masters. Disraeli, in a striking scene in "Sybil," declared that the country was divided into "two nations," each ignorant of the other, and hating one another—the rich and poor. The Chartist movement showed to what depths popular passion and indignation had reached. Their watch-word was the couplet:—

"The law treads down the poor man,
And the rich man makes the law."

Applause amounting almost to frenzy greeted O'Connor as he thundered against "the villains who quaff your sweat, gnaw your flesh, and drink the blood of infants . . . luxuriate on woman's misery, and grow fat upon the labourer's toil." It seemed im-

possible that the struggle could end in anything else than an appeal to physical force. The best men viewed the issue of brute violence as inevitable.

It was at such a crisis in our industrial history that the little band of "Christian Socialists," who were gathered round F. D. Maurice and Kingsley, endeavoured to bring home to men's hearts the breadth as well as depth of the Christian message of peace and good-will. Seldom has a spirit of greater devotion been seen than theirs. They realised as few have done that Christ demanded the whole of their life in all its range, industrial and social. In the end they spread over the country a still deeper wave of Christian social sentiment than Lord Ashley's movement. Maurice wrote to his sister before entering into the struggle:—

"The death of Christ is actually, literally the death of you and me. To believe we have any self of our own is the devil's lie . . . but let us believe further that we have each a life, our *own* life, not of you and me, but a universal life in Him. He will live in us and quicken us with all life and with all love, will make us experience the *reality* of loving God and loving our brethren."

"A universal life in Him." In the power of this thought they worked out the social aspect of Christianity; with this devoted aim they lived and "found" their own lives in the lives of others, toiling among the toiling multitudes. By every means in their power, by pamphlets, novels, newspapers, schools, brother-

hoods, associations, they held up to rich and poor alike co-operation as the Christian law of industry. Abuse and scandal were heaped upon them, especially by religious newspapers. "Yeast" and "Alton Locke" were condemned as preaching immorality and Atheism.

Deprecating the selfish side of Chartism, they tried to gain the sympathy of its leaders, and threw new life and enthusiasm into Robert Owen's attempts to organise workmen by means of co-operation. The *Christian Socialist* had in its first number the following words,—as living and true to-day as when they were first uttered:—"Christianity becomes chilly and helpless when cramped within four walls, and forbidden to go forth, conquering and to conquer, to assert God's rightful dominion over every process of trade and industry, over every act of our common life, and to embody in due forms of organisation every deepest truth that faith has committed to its charge." This last principle is further explained as "to diffuse co-operation as the practical application of Christianity to the purposes of trade and industry."

It is now well known how their co-operative associations of working-men partly succeeded and partly failed, at last to be revived through persistent effort in the great co-operative movement. Maurice was from the first the great thinker. Cumbersome and laboured as his utterance often was, yet little by little he made his life-thought plain. The Gospel of the Incarnation, the complete and perfect union of God and man—this was the strength, and hope, and life,

of all truly human activity. Wherever this was not realised, life tended to be inhuman, unnatural, selfish, brutal. The union of God and man in the life and passion of Christ was the one uniting bond of all classes, all ages, all time—the past, the present, and the future ;—it was the true basal bond between man and man, drawing each in sympathy towards a common, mutual life of love and service. “I come,” he said, “to give thanks that in Him is the life of the world. I do not want a separate life either here or hereafter. I come to renounce that separate life, to disclaim it. . . . I understand that the Son of God, by sacrificing Himself, has given me a share and property in another life—the common life which is in Him,—and I have come to pray that He will deliver me, and my brethren, and the universe, from that separate and selfish life which is the cause of all our woes and miseries—spiritual and fleshly, inward and outward.”

In a very different school of thought the beginnings of the same great doctrine were being worked out by another path. Two thoughts—the unity of the Church as the Body of Christ, and the presence of Christ in the Sacrament of His Passion and Love,—were the strength of the Oxford movement. Realising in burning sympathy the sufferings of Christ equally with the Evangelicals, they realised still further (and herein was their true advance) that the individual was not a mere unit, or the Church a mere aggregate of units, but all were members of one body, whose life was more than

that of the sum of individuals composing it. They knew themselves to be heirs of a living past, spiritually present with them in the unity of the great Mother Church of all ages. They lived again in the presence of the Early Church, and in communion with the saintly lives of the Middle Ages. The forms of the past were too often copied instead of translated. But the spirit of the new movement was far too deep to end in a death of formalism. For a time, indeed, its scope seemed too abstract and unpractical for the range of common life. But gradually the thought of the Church was placed in its true relation to the message of the Incarnation. The Church was seen as the embodiment of the life—the common life which Maurice showed was the very life of Him Who was incarnate. Thus, through the mediating thought of the Catholic Church, the social side of the Gospel message was firmly held. The Church was regarded as entrusted with a divine mission to society, filled with that fulness of grace, by which the world could be regenerated, claiming in the name of Christ a saving power, not only individual but social.

It would be hard to over-estimate the power of these two great movements in correcting the merely individual conception of Christian truth. If, on the one side, there has been a danger of private judgment being over-ridden and definite forms being insisted on where they carried no meaning; if, on the other hand, broader views have tended to vagueness and license, yet the most earnest thinkers and workers have made

Christ, and Christ alone, the centre of their social message, and by lives of most unsparing devotion to their Lord, have influenced wider and wider circles, and inspired fresh hope in all sorts and conditions of men. They did not theorise; they acted out their Christian faith in self-renouncing lives. They voluntarily gave up all to live and work among the poor, acting up to an order of society—a brotherhood of rich and poor,—which was for the world at large an ideal only. Such silent lives have been at the root of the little progress that has since been made. Their salt has probably saved England from the corruption of much of continental Socialism, with its undisguised materialistic ends and open appeal to base and selfish instincts.

The Christian social movement was not, however, confined to England. It will be only possible to trace out the thoughts and aims of one great leader in France and Germany respectively, and to show the kindred movement in the life of an Italian patriot.

St. Simon, in his "*Nouveau Christianisme*," had struck the first blow against the existing order, but Lamennais was the central active figure in France. George Sand gives this striking picture of the man:—"The austere and terrible face of the great Lamennais . . . a brass tablet, the seal of indomitable vigour, ardent and vast as heaven." He began as an ardent Royalist, and claimed for the Church the duty of social reconstruction. He longed to see Rome entirely on the side of the people, raising them

from their degradation. But he met with nothing but coldness. His trust was broken, though his earnest zeal remained. He left the base of church organisation, and tried to reach almost apart from it the fundamental principles of Christianity. This separation sadly prevented the temperate balance of judgment, which is the saving work of society towards the individual. At the same time his words were more striking and startling. "In passing through the earth," he writes, "I opened my eyes and saw unheard-of sufferings without number. Pale, sick, fainting, covered with garments of mourning stained with blood, humanity rose before me, and I asked myself, 'Is that man as God has made him?' 'Let the poor be up and doing' is the message given him; "if you separate, each only considering himself, you have nothing to expect but suffering, misfortune and oppression." He had, however, little power of organisation. He was more an iconoclast than a reformer, and his early failures had driven calmness from him. But he never left the guiding principle of his life—that society rests on a religious basis, and that the recovery of society depends on unselfishness and sympathy, not on external enactment or material advance. It is interesting to note the contrast he presents to Kingsley. Lamennais started a Royalist, and ended a Republican; Kingsley began by declaring, "I am a Church of England parson, and a Chartist," and ended with a passion for moderation. Lamennais found a Church that would not hear, Kingsley a Church slowly awakening.

Bishop Ketteler is the most striking figure among the Christian Socialists of Germany. His appeal was to the perfect humanity of our Lord, and his appeal was embodied in his life. He could say in later years, "I have lived with and among the people. There are few tears, and none of their sufferings, which have escaped me." Like Kingsley, during the plague of 1847, he most devotedly visited and relieved his people at the daily risk of his own life. But his greatest message was delivered after the terrible riot of Frankfort in 1848, when all Germany stood aghast at the atrocities committed. Ketteler alone saw deeper. He heard the stifled cry of the multitudes, and knew from his experience of the poor, that there was something far more than mere savagery in the uprising of the people. "I believe," he said at this crisis, "in the truth of those noble ideas, which are moving the world now. I love the present age because it strives mightily for the accomplishment of those ideal hopes, though we are yet a long way off from the happy ending. . . . But there is one means alone of realising them, by turning to Him, the Son of God, Jesus Christ. . . . With Him humanity can do everything; without Him it can do nothing. Yea, I maintain in the deepest conviction of my soul we may restore a community of good and of everlasting peace. Without Him we shall go down to destruction, a byword and derision to posterity."

His life was one of unwearied energy. He rose at four in the morning, and frequently heard confessions,

made to him by the poor, from two in the afternoon to twelve at night. He started and organised many forms of social union—associations of journeymen, departments for unemployed, mutual improvement and benefit societies. With regard to the ultimate solution of the labour question, he had no cut and dried method to offer. He only asserted vehemently that “all decrees of State in themselves fail to cure the cancer in the human body-politic.” Only full and many-sided Christian love, with all its inventiveness and motive power, could bring in many ways and manners an effectual remedy. The office of the Church, he said, was “mediatorial, to settle mutual dissensions between man and man, which are not always the result of ill-will, but often of ignorance and prejudice.” He urged State protection of labour, but preferred co-operation as a means to the end, pointing out the impotence of mere law to equalise conditions. Legislation by itself could only effect an external combination of “pulverised social-atoms.” Christian charity in its widest sense, acting through co-operative brotherhood, could alone bring peace and good-will. It would be extremely interesting to follow his life further, and to note the way in which his work was taken up by Moufang, Huber, and the State Socialists. “To do great deeds,” said St. Simon, “you must have enthusiasm.” “The power of Christian love,” said Bishop Ketteler, “is the lever for raising and regenerating society.”

In Italy, one name, the greatest perhaps of all, needs

careful notice, Mazzini, the greater part of whose message Christianity can claim for her own and add to its fulness. "It is not Adam Smith nor Carlyle, but Mazzini, who is the true teacher of our age," were Arnold Toynbee's memorable words. Mazzini's faith was centred in a united humanity which should realise the Divine will through the discipline of social duty. The lesson of individualism, he said, was "destructive, burning up shams and lies not a few," but unable to create. "It was not," he passionately writes, "to attain the ignoble and immoral 'every one for himself' that so many great men, holy martyrs of thought, have shed from century to century the tears of the soul, the sweat and blood of the body. Beings of devotedness and love, they laboured and suffered for something higher than the individual—for that humanity which ought to be the object of all our efforts, and to which we are all responsible. Before a generation who scorned them they calmly uttered their prophetic thought . . . speaking to that collective being which ever lives, ever learns, and in which the Divine idea is progressively realised."

If it is asked from whence this vision of humanity sprang, this wonderful picture of his stands written for all time :—

"The sky was dark, the heavens void, the people strangely agitated or motionless in stupor. Whole nations disappeared; others lifted their heads as if to view their fall . . . man was hideous to behold. Placed between two infinities, he had no consciousness of

either—neither of his future nor of his past. The fatherland was no more. The solemn voice of Brutus proclaimed the death of virtue from his tomb. Good men departed that they might not be defiled by contact with the world. The multitude demanded bread and the sports of the circus.

“He came—the soul most full of love, the most sacredly virtuous, the most deeply inspired by God and the Future that men had yet seen on earth—Jesus. He bent over the corpse of the dead world and whispered a word of faith. Over the clay, which had lost all of man but the movement and the form, he uttered words until then unknown—love, sacrifice, a heavenly origin ; and the dead arose. A new life circulated through the clay, which philosophy had tried in vain to reanimate. From that corpse arose the Christian world, the world of liberty and equality. From that clay arose the true man, the image of God, the precursor of humanity.”

The message of the Incarnation is indeed the crown of these ideals and hopes. Man's heavenly origin and God's infinite self-spending love—this was the “glory” which Christ came to reveal. In the suffering, pleading Christ, in the Passion and the Cross, man now knows, as he could never know before, God's love, and the knowledge is new life ; so near is God to man, in such intimate union, that what is done to the least is done unto Him. So united are we one to another, that no class distinctions can stand before the fact that we are “all one man in Christ Jesus.”

In connection with this teaching, Positivism has given the greatest aid to the clear expression of Christian thought, by making more historically living the ideas of a collective humanity, the solidarity of the race, the continuity of the ages, the totality of life. Another debt equally precious is owed to the Ruskin school of artists and thinkers, who have re-awakened the religious spirit in art, and raised ideals of beauty which have passed far beyond the æsthetic side of life. In the coarseness of a manufacturing country and a commercial age, they have made men realise the beauty and chivalry of the Christian faith, and by their devotion to the religious art of the Middle Ages, they have ennobled the individual with the glory of the collective heritage of the past. Thus philosophy and art have been the true handmaids of religion. Science, too, has played a wonderful part in bringing home the reality of the intimate relation of man with man, and age with age, the unity of created life, and the groaning and travailing of creation. At one time in a crudely dogmatic statement of a theory of survival of the fittest, it seemed to be completely reactionary. But the adjustment has been gradually accomplished, and now in every way the gain from science has been very great indeed, clearing up, as it has done, many crude and ill-formed ideas.

CHAPTER V.

THE TRADES UNION MOVEMENT.

WHILE the great principles of co-operation were being laid down by the Christian Socialists, the earnest entreaty and burning denunciation of Carlyle was rousing the more generous employers to try and themselves remedy the sad state of their workmen. Drawing his ideals from the past, and setting them in glaring contrast with the present, Carlyle pleaded for true and chivalrous "captains of industry" in place of the callous, mercenary employer. His words rang through the length and breadth of England, and found a response among many of the owners of factories. These, the more generous of their class, tried hard to restore the old feudal ideal of dependence and protection. The worker, before regarded as a mere instrument, was now looked upon as under the master's protection and in return gave to him his political support.

Saltaire, the industrial town built by Sir T. Salt, is a good illustration of this ideal at its best. The settlement was a perfect monument of care for the workman. A beautiful church and schools had been built, and every form of recreation provided. The whole would seem at first sight to have completely solved

the problem of labour in its own domain. But there is one great flaw which has often been pointed out. The workmen were entirely dependent, and had everything done for them. Under a gentleman like Sir T. Salt, such dependence was scarcely realised. Still, even then, it tended to make men expect everything to be done for them, and when successors came, intent on making money, the whole of the workmen fell easy victims to oppression, and the spirit of true self-government was never reached. The various buildings, one after another, fell into disuse, and finally the firm itself became bankrupt. The failure was due to the incompleteness of the ideal. It recognised, indeed, that men needed a healthy environment, and everything was done at first to promote this. But it rested purely on the basis of dependence, not brotherhood. It never reached the highest and most unselfish point of helping men to help themselves, and work out their own lives manfully and nobly.

But while the special method was incomplete, the spirit of the new movement among the employers was good and true, and real "captains of industry"—men whose first thought was the moral well-being of their workmen and not their own profits,—grew more frequent as the century advanced. The good which such men have done in allaying class friction has been incalculable. They have been the very salt of the earth in their own special sphere. It has been well pointed out that more has been gained by the willing renunciation of the rich than by the aggression and threaten-

ing of the poor. But even among the most earnest of such good employers there has been an almost fatal tendency to be autocrats rather than true fathers of the people. They have been willing to do all for the men except one thing—to take the men completely into their confidence.

Those who could in any true sense at all be called captains of industry were very few, and for a long time hardly made their influence felt. The workers, brought close to one another by the sympathy of common suffering, were hampered by the most cruel restrictions with regard to combination. They had wrongs, grievous wrongs, but they were forbidden to combine to remedy them. They knew themselves to be, individually, helpless units, at the mercy of the factory owner; yet if they combined to meet on more equal terms they were liable to imprisonment. A ray of light dawned in 1824, when an Act was passed allowing freedom of combination; but the Act was immediately stultified in 1825 by the fears of the employers, who induced Parliament, while making legal common deliberation, to make illegal any action resulting from deliberation. Even should the workmen agree to make up a common fund from their earnings, it might be embezzled by a thieving secretary and the law could not touch him. Under these sad conditions began the long struggle of the workmen to meet employers on equal terms and not as individual units. It was a terrible conflict, and few who were engaged could see the end. The danger of a violent revolution was

at one time imminent. "We are engulfed," was all Dr. Arnold could say, "and must inevitably go down the cataract." The workmen, distrusted as if they were conspirators, soon learnt to return the distrust and to act as conspirators, often with all the venom of jealousy and hate. The picture of the secrecy of the first Trades Unions is well given in "Sybil."

The Unions, when further advanced, seemed to be tearing away the last ties of personal contact even between good employers and their men. "In the strike of 1859," one master said, "men who had worked at the place for thirty or forty years, and were now called out by their Union, came up and said to us, 'This is the saddest day that has ever happened to us in our lives; but we must go; we are bound to go.' 'Depend upon it,' said Cobden, 'nothing can be got by fraternising with Trades Unions. I had rather live under a Dey of Algiers than a Trades Committee.'" As the beginnings of Trades Unions are studied, this certainly is the first impression given. The direct hostility, the complete separation that was first caused by them, seemed for the moment to destroy the last hope of genuine good-will and affection between master and men. Carlyle lamented bitterly the separation. Man's duty to man, he said, was resolving itself into a "cash-nexus," into handing him over so many metal pieces and shoving him out of doors. But Carlyle did not see all. The moment of cleavage is, indeed, a terrible one, full of hardships and suffering; but as the old bonds of union were disappearing, the

new were being formed. In the best of the old employers there had been too much autocracy; in the worst, there had been an unlimited despotism as complete as that of the slaveowner. In the best workmen, on the other hand, there had been too much of a weakening sense of dependence; while in the worst there grew up either a hireling greed and self-seeking, or else a wild and reckless anarchy. At the highest, there had been rather feudal lordship and dependence than mutual brotherhood. With Trades Unions employer and workmen parted for the moment as merely master and servant. Now at length they are beginning to unite again as brothers and fellow-workers, consulting together, working together for the good of the whole industry, members one of another in mutual and not one-sided dependence. Trades Unions in the long-run were found a help rather than a hindrance in bringing about this result. Even as early as the Parliamentary Committee of 1838 it was found that there had been less direct lawlessness and reckless crime during times of strikes, owing to the Unions; the old brutal savagery was stopped as the men acted more as a united body. Little by little the injustice of preventing combination was recognised, till at last restrictions were withdrawn. Mr. Mundella, especially, took the men's part, and urged that strong Trades Unions would increase the possibilities of conciliation.

The welfare of English trade depends mainly on three great industries,—textiles, coal, and iron. A good understanding between employers and employed in

these trades is the greatest boon to the country. Dr. G. Von Schultze-Gaevernitz, in his "Social Peace," has given a detailed account of the value of Trades Unions in promoting this end. The power of conciliation has advanced. Instead of isolated individual struggles, due more to hasty passions than earnest questions of right and wrong, the most intelligent leaders of the men have been able to meet and consult with the employers, and every grievance is carefully and judiciously examined. Mr. Samuel Andrew, secretary of the Oldham Master Cotton Spinners, has shown that in 1839 the wages in the trade of a family where two members worked were only 21s. per week. Revolutionary ideas and frequent petty strikes made even this wage precarious. The trade was in a constant state of turmoil, and the men were becoming thoroughly lawless. From the time that trade organisation began the change was marked. First of all there were more strikes than ever; but they were real economic contests. Little by little the trade began to enter on the stage of real and organised conciliation. Meanwhile wages were more than doubled. In 1887, before the British Association, Mr. Andrew could say, "Perhaps there is no centre in England where disputes are so easily and equitably settled as at Oldham. . . . In the cotton trade, as I believe, we have, at the present time, the most efficacious labour in the world. It is not only bred and trained, it is fitted and disciplined to its work." Professor Marshall gives his mature opinion that

"independently of effect upon wages, Trades Unions have done inestimable service by teaching men to trust one another, to act together, to discuss, under the direction of the ablest minds, questions of far-reaching policy." In his chapter on Trades Unions at the end of "Economics of Industry," he briefly cites the benefits of Unions :—

1. In case of disputes the employer deals with skilled leaders of the men instead of the whims of ignorant workmen.

2. The minimum wage prevents anxiety to the employer of being undersold by cheaper labour.

3. A strong Union supplies and creates a more efficient class of workmen.

Perhaps the noblest fact in their favour is that during the last thirty years the twelve largest and oldest Unions have spent only 6 per cent. of their funds in strikes, while 94 per cent. has gone to benefits in sickness, accident, etc. There is indeed another side of their influence which must not be overlooked. While they have enabled the workman to meet the employer on equal terms, they have also been the cause of some of the greatest acts of tyranny which this century has seen. This has been mainly because they lacked sympathy and help from the more educated. A little warm-hearted sympathy and friendly counsel would often have saved them from acts of injustice, and even meanness. When the ignorance in which they started is considered, and their past oppression and wrong, it

is only a wonder that they have shown such a conciliatory spirit in return. If only the whole movement could be thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Christian brotherhood, if the ideal of mutual good-will could only rise above class prejudice, labour and capital would be brought most closely together. For Trades Unions, with their ideal issue in a complete conciliation, are a true historic growth. They point forward to the time when employer and workman will regard each other as friends, not enemies, and the whole industry as an organised whole, in which all are so united that when one member suffers all the members suffer with it. Such Unions have already taken workmen out of a merely local and narrow life. Men, whose range of thought was almost limited by their own little locality, have learned the glory of belonging to one vast fellowship of labour. They will go on, as conciliation advances, to recognise the whole industry, labour and capital, as one organised body in which men work side by side in brotherly union for the service of humanity and the glory of God.

As they realise thus their industrial life as a fellowship, a communion, a brotherhood, the thought will react upon their isolated Christianity, and they will value infinitely more than they have done the vaster and deeper fellowship, communion, and brotherhood of the Church, the Body of Christ. The need of protection and dependence will not cease when the brotherhood of labour and capital is realised. It will take newer forms, and the truest protector will

know the duty of the elder and stronger brother to strengthen the muscles and sinews of self-help in those dependent on him. Riches or rank will be only added means of helping the weaker brothers in the battle of life. "However feebly," says Dr. Westcott, "we realise the fact, the truth, of the Incarnation, we find in it the inexhaustible spring of brotherhood. No difference which finds expression in terms of earth can stay it. . . . We may be filled with shame and compunction for innumerable inconsistencies, failures, sins, but the motive which we have once felt loses nothing of its claim on our obedience. Christ—such is the formal confession of each one of us—took me to Himself when He took humanity to Himself, and I owe myself to those with whom He has united me." ("Incarnation and Common Life," pp. 24, 25.)

Mr. Mundella's description of the beginnings of the Boards of Conciliation shows how hard it was to make the change of relationships understood. He writes:—"My obstacle was that the masters had the old feudal notion. They would insist on dealing with the men one at a time . . . it is impossible to describe to you how suspiciously we looked at one another until it dawned upon us, that in buying labour we should treat the seller of labour just as courteously as the seller of coal or a bale of cotton." This was one great step gained. The basis now was seen to be an exchange of service, the workman giving his labour, the employer his money. Before the employer seemed

independent, the workman wholly dependent ; now they were seen to be mutually dependent, and so far the dignity of labour was given its true place.

The first step was thus attained, but infinitely more remains to be done. Human labour cannot be treated as a dead thing in the same way as cotton or coal. There are always human interests, human feelings, intervening, which upset all calculation as to profits. These need more than a mere business settlement across the counter. They need mutual good-will and self-sacrifice, the gospel of duty above the gospel of rights. It seems indeed hard in the face of facts to hope for much. There is monied interest on the one hand and class suspicion on the other, and greed and selfishness on both, ready to overthrow any success gained. But at least the outward obstacles to union and conciliation are now gone. Even equality of education is becoming more and more a possibility. The barriers of ignorance and legal restriction have been gradually removed. Now the opportunity has come to go further, and press home the truth that self-sacrifice and mutual love must be at the root of all that is to be permanent, not self-interest and mutual suspicion. If a third of a century could so change public opinion that slavery, from being approved, was abolished at the greatest cost, it may well be hoped that another generation may see, at least as an aim in view, self-sacrifice take the place, which in common talk self-interest now holds. Workmen and employers have a common glorious inheritance to unite them, an un-

broken national history, a noble fellow-citizenship and a common patriotism. The Christian faith sanctions and crowns all these with her own still more noble inheritance and fellowship, and insists on the true brotherhood of men, which can never be realised on the basis of self-interest. This common glorious inheritance, it may be hoped, will more and more draw men's minds away from class passion and the mere selfish greed for money.

While for the vanguard of working-men Trades Unions have already partly found an outcome in conciliation and mutual dependence, there is a vast host of labour, the poorest of the poor, the unskilled, the submerged, which has yet to be brought into the line of march. So far the old Trades Unions have hardly touched them. They still lie stagnating in the pool of labour, unreachd by the fresh and rapid stream of progress. Their ruin has been caused by their very poverty, which has kept their bodies and minds stunted, and made their living so precarious, that habits of thrift or cleanliness have had little chance of growth. Christ is pleading here for the strong to help the weak. A Church which fails to go right down into the midst of the very poorest to bring help and succour is self-condemned. "If a man," says the aged St. John, "seeth that his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion, how dwelleth the love of God in him?"

It is well to get some clear idea of the vastness of the evil. In a population of nearly a million in

East London, Mr. Charles Booth shows that 345,000 belong to families, whose weekly earnings amount to less than 21s. per family, an average of about 4s. per week for each individual. About 5s. of this sum must be deducted for the high rent charge, leaving about 16s. to provide food, clothing and fire for the whole family. Only 23 per cent. of the whole vast population earned 30s. per week per family. Of 111,000 persons (this is the most terrible fact of all), he writes, "It may not be too much to say that if the whole of this class were swept out of existence . . . the classes just above them would be immeasurably better off, and no industry would suffer in the least." The Bishop of Durham, again, points to the fact that inhabitants of one hundred and sixty-seven streets in Liverpool were refused admission to a friendly society, and that about one-fourth of the deaths of adults in London take place in workhouses or charitable institutions. These typical examples might be added to from such towns as Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, and all the large centres of industry. There is indeed a problem here, which the Church has only just begun to face.

When the causes of poverty are traced back, only a small proportion are seen to be directly due to drink in the present generation. The awful curse of drink is, that the sins of the fathers are visited in such terrible reality on their children. One single drunkard can spread poverty and degradation to his children's children. It is the thousands upon thousands that

are yearly *born* into a degrading poverty which present the difficulty. Their destruction is their very birth and early years of want. There is most clearly here the need of a strong helping hand, but how to stretch it out without pauperising, how to give help and yet stimulate self-help—here is the great practical difficulty. The end is clearly to set them on the rungs of the higher grades of labour, where they can at last join the vanguard of industry. It is almost needless to say that methods of doing this must be as countless as the conditions are complicated. Two historical methods may be taken as types of many smaller ways and means.

The New Unionism made the first comprehensive attempt to grapple with the problem of unskilled labour. The aim of its leaders was the same as that of the Old Trades Unionists, to enable workmen to meet their employers on equal terms as a united whole, and so raise the whole class of labourers. The vast numbers of unemployed, from which new labour could be drawn, made any attempt at first seem hopeless. Vacancies could be filled by the masters at a moment's notice, and any Union could be swamped by new-comers. To meet this, the New Unionists tried to make their Union membership as simple, easy and wide as possible. All the heavy payments for benefits were left out, and the charge per member was made so small that it was only enough for strike emergency. At the same time, the vast numbers, who joined in all parts of the kingdom

by amalgamation, made the Unions really formidable and able to claim a rise in wages.

A short study of the great dock strike of 1889 will give the clearest picture of the influence and power of the New Unionism. No condition of labour could appear more hopeless than that of the dockers before the strike. The work of a great proportion of those at the dock-gates was regarded by the employers themselves as practically useless. The casual labourer was hardly worth putting to work. A gang of permanent hands could unload two hundred and sixty tons by the time the same number of casuals unloaded sixty. Yet the employers recklessly encouraged casual and cheap labour. They did not take the pains to regulate their industry, but found it easier and less troublesome to keep thousands waiting at the dock-gates, and to choose as many as they wanted at each emergency, leaving the rest to shift for themselves. In "Life and Labour in East London," the following account, written before the strike, is given :— "Hundreds keep pouring in on the chance of a few hours' work, mostly destined never to return, but to crowd the overcrowded docks. The professional casual, by a slow process of deterioration, has adapted his mind and body to the lower forms of life. But worse than their indifference is the sickening cry of the man just newly come, dragging his little ones down into a poverty from which there is no arising."

The claim of the dockers was for higher pay, more regular hours, and the suppression of middlemen. The

contest which follows is a most wonderful example of the power of union in common suffering and sympathy to raise men's character. In less than five weeks the listless, hopeless class of dock labourers was disciplined into a courageous and orderly army, who won the hearts of the police and public by their quiet behaviour, and who continued cheerful and hopeful in the face of most terrible suffering, without wavering or deserting. The force which created this great change in men, who seemed most hopelessly degraded, was the power of a great moral enthusiasm. There was, indeed, much selfishness and class prejudice besides, but in the main the appeal was far stronger and deeper. There is a well-known story told how on one early autumn morning the rough, worn faces of the crowd of dockers lighted up with eager interest as they heard of the Carpenter of Nazareth, Who came to bring peace and brotherhood among men. Suddenly a tall, gaunt stevedore rose and shouted, "Lads, lads, hats off, and let us give three cheers for Jesus of Nazareth!" Another picture is that of John Burns addressing the thronging multitudes, when the news came that the strike was nearly over. "I will not flatter you," he said, "I will not condemn you, but this I do say, that when I come back to East London I want to see cleaner and brighter homes than I do to-day; what is more, I want to see, when this strike is over, evidence that it has morally influenced you as men for the better; I want to see some of your wives bear

less marks on their bodies of your brutal ill-treatment; I want you men to use this strike as a new era in your personal and domestic lives; I want this strike, which has been nobly fought, and which, I believe, will be nobly won, to make a turning-point in the life of the ignorant man, who will use the opportunity of being better educated to-morrow than he is to-day."

Words like these, springing from a spirit of union and hope for the future, could not fail to raise the men to a new level. At the end of the strike the picture of the dock labourers is quite different from that given above. Professor Marshall regards them as having reached a higher grade of industry. Though there has been terrible friction and much heart-burning since the strike, yet a large number of dockers have been raised to permanent employment, and the friction seems likely to be greatly lessened. The Report for 1893 showed a large increase of regular labour: the competition has not been so driving; the position of the docker has distinctly improved. The strike itself was won by the strength of public sympathy and the assistance given by workmen from all parts of the world. It was a strange and striking recognition of the solidarity of the race that sympathy and help could be called forth from men separated by thousands of miles, but united by common brotherhood. Since the victory of the dock labourers there has been a great revival of Trades Unionism over the country. The beginnings of the new movement have been very rough, and often selfish. The success of

the dockers at first turned men's heads, and instead of genuine patience and self-sacrifice they imagined that everything could be done by bullying. But as the power of public opinion becomes stronger there seems every hope that the new Unions will settle down to steady work of organisation and discipline. The early conduct of the old Trades Unions was even more headstrong, and they have settled down. The great present danger is an eagerness for premature appeal to legislation in the place of self-help. Such appeals have led men to wild destructive theories, instead of slow and steady constructive work.

The second method tried on a large scale, which now is historical, is that put forward in "In Darkest England." The strength of this endeavour has been that in the roughest and crudest way it has dealt with life industrial and moral as a whole, and has reckoned with the close interaction of physical and moral causes, and has set about a gradual process of slowly reclaiming the stunted in body and mind. The healthy atmosphere of country life is taken count of, and as soon as possible those who have shown themselves willing and ready are drafted to the farm colony. From thence, when muscles and energy have developed, they go on to the stronger work of the over-sea colony, where a co-operative settlement is being formed on the principles of self-help. The wish throughout is at last to make the hopeless pauper independent, and while the scheme is gradual and the process lengthy, yet it is on the whole natural and not forced.

There are, however, two unnatural elements which have partly hindered the scheme in practice. The religious teaching, which is given, depends far more than is good upon mere excitement, a foundation on which our Lord refused to build. In many cases the reaction is greater than the first effect. Secondly, they deal with men far too much in the mass. Only individual treatment can effectually strengthen character, and raise a man's self-respect. Still the work that has been done, and the self-sacrifice shown, has been worthy of all praise. The labour homes of the Church Army lessen both of the evils mentioned; but at present they touch only a very small proportion of the unemployed. They deserve a great deal more support than has yet been given, as their work is thoroughly good and wise. They would be still further improved, if there were a greater variety of work, and if it were possible to form country settlements.

It will be well in ending this chapter to recall the change, which has come over economic thought during the last few years. There is little doubt that economists most seriously tied the hands of Churchmen early in the century. Their cry of *laissez faire* was neither scientific nor moral; yet they appealed in the name of science, and stoutly maintained that it was best, in the long-run, for the working classes. Their appeal to self-interest was still worse. Call it enlightened self-interest or what one will, the appeal could only excite the all too ready selfish in-

instincts, which are so hard to keep in check. The Manchester School, containing some most eminent and thoughtful men, applied their doctrines without seeing that human nature was far too complex for their abstract theory. The first great defeats of the school came with the Factory Acts of 1833, 1834, and 1844. The revolt began as soon as men studied human nature and historic facts. It was pressed most practically home upon economists, that they had been in the past deductive merely, and that they had been spinning a huge web of logic upon partial or erroneous premises. Since then economic science has become more and more inductive; economists have taken a far greater interest in history, and recognised that they must leave room for social development. The third edition of J. S. Mill, in 1852, marks decisively the change. In the first edition the laws of distribution seem as rigid as those of production. In the third edition, his judgment on Socialism is much less positive; he recognises far more clearly the possibility of the laws of distribution being altered. Among recent economists some have gone so far as scarcely to allow the existence of general economic law, and have magnified the inductive method at the expense of the deductive. It has at last been freely acknowledged that, when the moral basis was left, the economy ceased to be scientific. Motives completely counteracting self-interest have not only been accepted, but taken carefully into account. Economic society is seen to be neither

stationary nor incapable of improvement. Mr. Mill has shown that trust in one another "penetrates every cranny of existence." Such trust has been recognised as being based on something higher than mere individual aim. Competition has come to be regarded as needing direction and restraint. Arnold Toynbee's comparison is a good one. He likens it to a great river which, if not kept within proper bounds, floods the country with ruin and destruction. Christians cannot but feel deeply thankful for the relief which has thus been given them from the strain of conflicting theory. Economists, at every step forward, have borne witness, if unconsciously, to the Christian message. The divine character of human life has been growing clearer to men's eyes, and this is the message of the Incarnation.

The same change has affected much scientific theory. The "survival of the fittest" bore a very striking resemblance at one time to the "iron law of wages." The same protest from human hearts and human experience has at last borne fruit. Professor Huxley's lectures at Oxford, a very short time before his death, mark most clearly the change. Man is seen again here to be moved by something more than merely animal motives, to live not by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

In this very rough and typical sketch it has been shown how the borderland of the present has been reached with the hopes and fears of the future lying

veiled beyond. In each age the Holy Spirit has borne witness, penetrating through savagery, barbarism, wealth and luxury, impressing upon the rude material of humanity the truths of Christ's life and person. In the devoted poverty of the monastic orders, in the religious union of the guilds, in the justice of the Canonists, in the growth of personal character at the Reformation, in the dignity, responsibility, and solidarity of life, which is the great ideal of the present century, the same Holy Spirit has been guiding men into all the truth, and showing things to come, as far as the hardness and selfishness of human hearts would allow. Such a study will be the best ground for considering some general theories of the relation of Christianity to the labour conflict. With the past in mind there will be less danger of the license of private judgment, or of making the living spirit of Christ's words into a dead letter.

CHAPTER VI.

CHRIST AND SOCIETY.

THERE are two aspects of the Christian relation to the labour conflict, which can scarcely be separated: there is the direct relation to the individual—the voice of the living God speaking to the heart and conscience of individual men, and there is the relation to society—the same voice speaking in the great social life with all its manifold diversity of influence.

To the individual the words of Christ have been indeed “spirit and life.” The meanest slave of the old world, with scarcely a sense of individuality left to him, was startled into the wonder of new life as he repeated to himself the words, “The Son of God who loved *me* and gave Himself for *me*.” He knew that in God’s sight, at least, he was precious, and the faith, and hope, and love, which such a thought brought with it, made him in very deed a new man. This change of life extended with almost equal clearness to all grades of men. From it sprang strengthening of character, and from character freedom. Individuality, character, freedom, have constantly broken loose from their Christian nurturing, but upon their disciplined strength and vitality de-

pend the making of nations. This strength and vitality and discipline Christianity has given and can give.

The power of the individual life was found in welcoming Christ's own personal appeal. He stood at the door of the human heart and pleaded, "If any man hear My voice and open, I will come in unto him and sup with him, and he with Me," and men since then have known that their strongest personal life was found in that communion with Him. From the time when Saul heard the voice, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?" and the knowledge flashed upon him that his cruelty had wounded the very heart of Him, the Lord of heaven and earth, the whole world was changed to him: old things had passed away. His hardness and bitter formal spirit crumbled into dust before the wonder of that redeeming love. The persecuting Pharisee became the Christian saint. Such a changed life has always been the genuine fruit of Christianity, and countless numbers of men in the lower grades of labour, sunk in drunkenness and vice, have known the power of this heart conversion, and have raised, instead of degrading, their whole class by their converted lives. Herein lies the strong power of the individual Christian life upon the labour struggles, and its value cannot be over-estimated.

But some, impressed with the directness and intensity of the individual appeal, have shut the soul up in a seclusion of its own with its partial vision of God, and have narrowed the spiritual horizon. They do not see

that God is speaking to them through every social influence and relation, that every factor of business, commerce, labour, and industry, may be the instrument to widen and expand that love of God, which else will starve or be narrowed into a selfish exclusiveness. They do not realise, that in an industrial community a true social expression of the Christian faith in business and labour would speak in a living way to men and bring home to them the meaning of the Gospel message. Society is with them hopelessly corrupt, and they stand aloof from thoughts of its regeneration. Christians, they say, are merely "strangers and pilgrims," and have nothing to do with society as such; questions of social status are beyond their range; a passive and indirect influence is all that may be maintained in labour disputes; the clergy by their calling have no real duty in such matters, and should not waste time over them, but deal with individual souls.

It will be well to turn from such dogmatic views to the simplest thoughts of Christ's own teaching. Three great words of His will show very plainly much of the harmony of social and individual life as He conceived it.

No moulding word has ever had more power than the word "Father," as uttered by the lips of Christ. To watch His perfect life lived in the Father's love, to hear the word repeated again and again, as if to win entrance by its very sound and sweetness; to think of all that the word "Father" meant to Him, to

realise that the Eternal, Whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain, is "Our Father,"—loves with a Father's heart, protects and pities with a Father's care and compassion,—this is the message which has made the world a new place ever since it was brought home to men by Christ. The more it sinks into a man's life, the more impossible it is for him to neglect his fellow-men, or separate himself from them. They belong to one family, one home. Disputes, conflicts, struggles, become hateful; the "children" of God cannot help being "peacemakers"; the great home-feeling in the conscious sense of the Father's love makes them look out with eager, kindly eyes upon the world; most especially do they long to help the feebler and weaker in the home, and above all those who are not yet conscious of the Father's love. All life gradually groups itself round the words, "Our Father in heaven, Thy name be hallowed, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done."

In union with this word "Father," our Lord took "Love" as the central principle and power of life, gathering round it all the other faculties. "Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy life, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength, and thy neighbour as thyself: on these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets." He thus sums up the unity of life in the one fundamental spring of human motive—Love;—and just as the word Father came right home to men's hearts as they saw what it meant to Him, and how it was His

very meat and drink to do the Father's will, so by His own life He brought home to men as a commandment, startling in its new depth of meaning, the "New Testament" (as Clement calls it), "that ye love one another even as I have loved you." From that time forward love was not sentiment but sacrifice. The Father Himself had shown forth the infinite sacrifice in His gift of the Son, had brought therewith His own very nature of love into the midst of men, had shown visibly and outwardly what true love was. From the bosom of the Father that revelation came, that life and death of perfect love; men had seen and heard, and their hands had handled, and they bore witness, and declared the life, the life eternal, that was with the Father and was manifested; and this was their message, that "God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all;" that "God is love;" and "he that hateth his brother is in darkness even until now." In such love there could be no weakness, no unreality. It was in absolute conflict with selfishness and sin, and implied in its very nature suffering, where selfishness and sin existed. Christ plainly said, "If a man will not take up his cross and follow Me, he *cannot* be My disciple;" "If ye love Me, keep My commandments;" "This is My commandment, that ye love one another even *as I have loved you*."

Still further, as He thus bound love inseparably with sacrifice, so He bound inseparably love to man and love to God; to love one's fellow-men was to love Him, to despise them was to despise Him, to neglect

them was to neglect Him: "I was naked and ye clothed Me, I was sick and ye visited Me, I was a stranger and ye took Me in. . . . Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these My brethren, even the very least, ye did it unto Me." He thus identifies Himself with all the weak, the down-trodden, the fallen, the forlorn, the sorrowing. In their suffering He suffers, in their sorrows He grieves, by our neglect of them He is wounded afresh and put to open shame. The great compelling force, which has shaken men from sloth and indifference, has been to see His Form in the weak and suffering and needy. Lowell has given the picture for this century:—

"Then Christ sought out an artizan,
A stunted, low-browed, haggard man,
And a motherless girl whose fingers tain
Pushed from her faintly want and sin.
These He set in the midst of them;
And as they drew back their garment hem
For fear of defilement, 'Lo here,' said He,
'The images ye have made of Me.'"

The revelation of "the Father" and the revelation of "Love" are thus so wide and universal and expansive, that they can hardly fail to imply a social expression in every sphere of life.

The "kingdom of heaven" is the third "word" of Christ which contains great social teaching. Here again it was the intensely real and present meaning of the phrase to our Lord Himself, that made men slowly understand Him. They saw that with Him

"the kingdom of heaven" was no distant abstraction, but a supremely present fact; that it was with Him a condition, a relation realisable here on earth in the united doing of the Father's will, in living the united lives of the children of God. The publicans were pressing into it; the sinners who repented were already entering into it; the casting out of evil was a sign that the kingdom had already come. The kingdom of heaven meant to our Lord a most concrete brotherhood, a most practical and visible relationship. This society, this kingdom, was being built up, entered into, enlarged day by day. It was not to be put off to a distant future; it was within men, in their very midst, not so much a "yonder" far off as a "here" to be realised. It was to grow and to permeate like leaven all the disorganised mass of humanity till the whole was leavened. It was like a seed growing secretly and gradually till it overspread the earth. It is true that in speaking of the "coming" of that kingdom Christ gave, besides the picture of orderly growth and natural expansion, the picture of crisis, "wars" and "earthquakes," heralding His judgment; but when the disciples asked, "Where, Lord?" He answered by a general principle, "Wheresoever the carcase is, there shall the eagles be gathered together;" just as when they asked "the times and seasons," He said, "It is not given you to know." As if to emphasise the present character of His coming and its manifold application, He interwove His words throughout with His "coming" to Jerusalem in its most

solemn fall and judgment: "Verily I say unto you this generation shall not pass away till all shall be accomplished." He would, as it were, drive His disciples to look deeper into His words, and apply them to all time. The fall of Jerusalem was "one of the days of the Son of Man." With the social life leading up to it, with the national leadership of the Pharisees and Sadducees, Christ dealt most concretely and directly. His coming in judgment was even to be desired by Christ's disciples, awful though it was, for from it new life should spring. "The days will come when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of Man." "The more," says Bishop Lightfoot, "we read our Lord's prophetic words, the more we shall see that they are instinct with a personal, present, and social application to ourselves . . ."

Such session in judgment as has been here set forth is indeed the one sure hope of human progress. Only through crisis can decay be changed to life. The parable of His coming, which Christ gave, was that of the fresh young leaves of the fig-tree springing into new life out of the death and decay of winter. Such was the new life of the Church springing from the decay of Judaism, the new life that saved humanity in the decline and fall of Rome, that pierced through the depths of barbarian darkness in the Celtic missions of Columba and Boniface, that flooded Europe with fresh energy through the devotion of St. Francis of Assisi, that rose out of the unspeakable corruptions of the fifteenth century into the glorious

Reformation, and again out of the spiritual famine of the eighteenth century into the great evangelical revival. Thus, the picture which our Lord gives of an order being slowly built up, through partial dissolution and crisis, leavening gradually the whole of humanity, has had its striking witness in human history. It does not seem beyond Christ's words to say, that the idea of the kingdom includes at least the thought of a regenerated human society gradually being accomplished through steady growth and awful crisis, and a partial coming of that kingdom in every victory over sin and evil.

St. Paul entered into the spirit of his Lord's words—"The kingdom of God *is* righteousness and peace and joy." . . . "God *has* translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love," upon which Bishop Lightfoot comments—"The reign of Christ has already begun. His kingdom is a present kingdom. Whatever, therefore, is essential to the kingdom of Christ must be capable of realisation now; there may be some exceptional manifestation in the world to come, but this cannot alter its inherent character." Christians are "fellow-workers *into* the kingdom of God," and as such form a partial embodiment of that kingdom in the Church. Under this title, St. Paul, viewing the vast order of the empire around him, gives the perfect outline of the ideal social order: "As the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ. . . . The eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee . . . Nay, much more those members of the

body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary. . . . And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it ; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it," "the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in love."

In St. John, the present aspect and realisation of the kingdom is seen in his fundamental use of the words "eternal life," a life independent of time and place, a present gift. The Judgment of Christ also is, in St. John's Gospel, not so much future as intensely present. When the spirit of the Apocalypse is realised, underlying its glowing imagery are seen the eternal issues, the conflict between good and evil of all time, the great world-struggle of nations and peoples, the conquering by the meek and suffering Lamb of the brute power and selfish tyranny of the Beast, the destruction of the corrupt order of luxurious Babylon, the coming of the new order, the New Jerusalem, the Holy City wherein dwelleth righteousness.

These references have been given to defend the present aspect of the "kingdom of heaven," as Christ used the words. If this is accepted, the range of His social teaching will be seen to be very great. Briefly it may be said that as Christ set forth the perfect standard of individual life in the words, "Be ye perfect even as your Father Which is in heaven is perfect," so His perfect standard for social

life was, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." The individual and the social relation complete one another, and the basis of all is inward character and mutual, personal fellowship, not artificial or external arrangement.

Having thus, as it were, laid the foundation in character, it may be asked, "What are the main lines for building up the true social order?" One fact at once comes into prominence—the unique place which Christ gave to the ties of family life. Our Lord, it would seem, translated the word "society" in terms of the home. Though He refused to legislate about property, He laid down quite definite and unmistakable rules about marriage. The sternest of His awful words to the Pharisees were called forth by their breaking of family ties between children and parents on the plea of "Corban," and their robbery of widows' homes for religious purposes. His own long thirty years of home obedience was His expression in action of His reverence for home; all the agony of the Cross only marked more clearly His filial care, as He said to the disciple whom He loved, "Behold thy mother," and from that hour that disciple took her to his own home. His ministry began with a blessing on a wedding festival. Mothers with their little children called forth His tenderest welcome. The care of the little ones, the protecting love of their heavenly Father, the danger of causing them to stumble, were constant subjects of His teaching. As the Passion drew near, the home at Bethany

with its simple family love, was His haven of rest from the corrupt city life, which He condemned. Thus He marked out every side of home life by example, by precept, even by very definite and direct ruling. His directness is all the more remarkable as His definite *rules* are so rare. While thus He so practically legislated for the sanctity of the family itself, He went much further, and carried the same reverence of the family life into wider spheres. The thought of the home was with Him fundamental, underlying all relations of man with man, resting in the Fatherhood of God. The great rebuke of the social indifference of the Pharisees was, "This thy *brother* was dead and is alive." Ever since the parable of the Prodigal Son, the conscious ideal of sinful humanity has been the Father's home—the Father's "house of many mansions." With Christ has come into all human relations the breath, the fragrance, the sweetness, of the eternal home. The highest thought of human society has been that of one great home-life and home-love, lived in the joy and peace of sonship, the communion of the one Father, the love of perfect brotherhood. It is most simply true to say that every single human relation was brought by Christ within the idea of the home-life, and consecrated once and for all by the name, "Our Father."

This thought, again, runs through the whole of the rest of the New Testament. Nothing could be more definite than St. Paul's continual references to family

life. From the deepest of divine mysteries he comes directly to the commonest home relations of husbands, wives, fathers, children, and this quite simply and naturally, for these common relations were themselves, he tells us, divine mysteries. From the Eternal Father "every fatherhood in heaven and in earth" was named. The primal sanctity of wedded life and love has the mystery beneath it of Christ's own love for humanity as seen in His Church, His Bride. The home-picture rises again as the Church is called the household, the family of God. In the human sphere, Paul himself loves to think of himself as the father of his people; no other name seems deep enough. On him, as such, rests "the care of all the churches." Even the runaway slave, Onesimus, is "my own child, whom I have begotten in bonds." It is, indeed, most interesting to note how naturally such home-words come to his lips. They rise to utterance whenever he is most deeply moved.

St. John's writings complete the picture. The Gospel of St. John is the revelation of "the Father." "'Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us.' Jesus saith unto him, 'Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known Me, Philip? He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father.'" The climax of the Apocalypse is reached in the words, "The marriage of the Lamb is come, and His wife hath made herself ready."

It may be objected that all these words and usages are symbolical. This is true in the sense that we

now "see through a glass darkly"; but they are symbols of the Eternal, if God is indeed "Our Father." Life is a very practical thing, and is moulded by the words men use. A single word can truly dominate the whole conception of life. Christ's words were "spirit and life," and He has given the name, "Our Father," to be hallowed in all relations of society. Still further He alone in His own life has shown its depth of meaning.

Two thoughts have now been traced at some length—the present and social aspect of the "kingdom of heaven," the dominant and fundamental aspect of the Father's name in social relations. If these two positions are granted, then the lines of building up a Christian order of society may be dimly traced on earth—with manifold confusion and failure—and it will be seen that there is a social message extending to all human conditions contained in the prayer, "Our Father in heaven, Thy name be hallowed, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." Labour conflicts, the social ordering of rich and poor, political movements, national aggrandisement, international disputes, will more and more be brought to this supreme test. It will only be possible here to give one or two illustrations, vaguely suggesting a few lines which seem to issue from this position.

In contrast with all artificial theories as to the foundation of society, it will be held that the inner ties of home life are stamped with a divine significance by the revelation of the Father, and are the educative means

for realising the wider social life. The family is seen to be the school of social character. Man is not a unit, and does not begin life as a unit, but in an essential relation of sonship; as the man grows he realises a second relation of brotherhood, and lastly those still deeper of husband and father. Even where family life is broken, its ideal will be cherished. Such ties of home are all the training-ground for the more extended life of the workshop, the town, the nation, humanity. The basis of social peace and social progress will rest in the strength and application of the home relations.

For example, on the relation of fatherhood is based all that is true in the function of authority and government. In so far as authority is fatherly, in so far as obedience is filial, the true relation in society is maintained; in so far as authority is mere power or force, the relation is weakened or destroyed. In king, in magistrate, in master, in ruler, the moment the true relation of authority (derived from "the Father from Whom every fatherhood in heaven and earth is named") is lost, tyranny and subjection take the place of authority and obedience. Such authority again is educative. The aim of fatherhood is to produce sympathy, not subjection; co-operation, not servitude; conscious, willing acceptance rather than blind obedience. Punishment may be needed, and in fact plays a most important part; but its motive and basis will be love, not arbitrary passion or expediency. In such authority the word "responsibility" will be on the lips before the word "privilege"; there will be a sense of sacred duty rather

than of mere right. "Fatherhood," says Bishop Westcott, "is the original sacrament of authority ; sonship, of reverence and obedience." . . . "The lesson of fatherhood passes at once to the connexion of masters and servants, which cannot without impunity be degraded into a mere bargain, and which may be ennobled by real sympathy. It passes on to the connexion of employer and workman, which ceases, I cannot but say, to be human if it is made to mean only so much labour for so much money. It passes to the connexion of owner and occupier which cannot be stable, if an inherited right is supposed to dispense with present duties. It passes to the connexion of government and citizen, which is simply a compact of limited slavery, unless we recognise above us that which we may modify but cannot make, a manifestation of eternal authority which we are born to treat with loyal reverence."

One further upward line may be traced in the relation of "brotherhood," as learnt in the school of home and raised to its perfect type in Christ. In brotherhood there is no external or artificial equality; differences are used and treasured for mutual service. It is the one true antidote to the acknowledged wrongs of competition. "I dare not tell you," says F. D. Maurice, "how much I feel that competition is threatening the very existence of society and undermining knowledge ; yet I have no dream of checking it by artificial expedients. It is the brotherly relation in which I find the true antidote to the destructive tendency of competition, the true vindication of all

that is sound and healthful in it. Contentions, indeed, of brothers are but too common . . . but these rivalries and hatreds are violations of a relation. You may call them 'natural'; but if so, submission to nature means ceasing to be men, to become brutes—an inhuman state. If the desire of possession in a man is stronger than the sense of brotherhood, he may be a tyrant or slave, or both in one. He in whom a sense of brotherhood is uppermost may suffer, even to death, but he will preserve society from destruction. Through that suffering he will surely rise to the conception of one common humanity, called into existence by one Father, redeemed by one incarnate Saviour, quickened by one infinite Spirit."

The range to which such illustrations might be carried is as wide as human life. They come simply and naturally forward, and may be worked out by the most ignorant. They are of universal application—very commonplace, but very real and fundamental. There is nothing new, but nothing artificial, if indeed the Christian message is true that God is, in the deepest of all senses, "Our Father," and therefore selfishness is a violation of nature. No one in a family can for a moment suppose that he works for himself alone or is "independent"; at the same time his individuality grows stronger by service. He feels from the first that he owes far more than he gives, yet his gift is most precious and cherished. What he brings is as little compared to his inheritance and training, yet that little is needed, and to withhold it

would be ungrateful and unnatural. Thus, in a true family the individual gift is cherished while the common life is preserved. The unity rests not on similarity, but difference of function. Authority, obedience, equality, partnership, will be unselfish, and not self-centred in proportion as they reach the family ideal.

The influence of the home ideal is even more clearly seen in connexion with the thought of Environment. There are few questions which have been more vehemently argued and which touch more deeply the inner life of a great labour struggle than the part played by a man's surroundings. The causes of lack of employment, the existence of a submerged tenth, the improvidence and intemperance among the poor, are all connected in some way with the influence of environment. Some have rushed to the conclusion that environment is the cause of everything; others assert that it is the cause of nothing, quoting as their watchword, "Man makes the environment, environment does not make the man." Both these positions lead to a dualism. The first is instinctively felt to be wrong; the second has great attractiveness, but, unless more fully stated, tends to a marking off of special fields of human interest as "secular," instead of treating life as a whole. This division is even now becoming plain in the timidity, with which many good works are regarded as "merely social," and the "saving of the soul" is put forward alone to the complete neglect of the health of the body. The issue cannot be too clearly stated: there must be

a Christian aspect of environment, or the different provinces of life must be mapped out in an exclusive dualism. It is well when theories clash to turn to experience. A little care will often show in practice the harmony of different views.

The harmony will be found in the thoughts suggested by the Father's Home. The problem of environment will be simply met, if the common practical experience of home life is taken up into the wider sphere. For whenever anyone turns to his own home-experience and up-bringing, he will surely note the anxious care that was paid to every detail of his outward life—as, for instance, to the nature of the school to which he went, the friends and companions he made, the books that were allowed, the habits of neatness that were formed by neat and tidy surroundings,—in short, he will know that one of the most powerful influences that moulded his young life was the atmosphere or environment of the home itself, and in proportion as that “atmosphere” was charged with Christian loving-kindness, every slightest detail of his surrounding was carefully considered and arranged. Here, then, in simple life the thought of environment is most fully and clearly recognised. There is no timid fear of laying too much stress on its influence; all that loving hands can do is done in order that the child may lead a full and healthy life. In the same simple, practical, home-like way the Christian love will go forth among the stunted broken lives in the greater home circle of the family

of God. It will build up an environment of loving handiwork to help and raise into fuller and healthier life the poorer brethren. It will use to the full all social ways and means of influence, all the while keeping one thing entirely and completely in view—that the end of life is personal and spiritual, not material and animal, and that therefore the environment of greatest influence will be that of living persons. Personal influence, personal love, personal devotion will be the atmosphere through the breath of which strength will flow back into wasted lives. Money and material goods will be valuable only as the embodiments of personal self-sacrifice. If the self-sacrifice of love be absent, though all goods be given to feed the poor, it profits nothing. As in the home environment it was the personal touch which told, so the personal touch of loving men and women pouring out their own lives into the empty lives of others, will be the moving influence and environment, which Christianity must endeavour to create in order to bring back life and light into our slums. Mere artificial or mechanical reconstruction of society will be avoided. There will be more and more the simple, plain confession, that in all that has brightened and deepened our own lives we should love our neighbours as ourselves, and do unto others as we would they should do unto us, and men will not pray, "Lead *us* not into temptation," while leaving unregarded the grossest and most overwhelming temptations in the paths of others.

Christian fathers will not choose with every care their own boy's surroundings, and refuse to try and better the evil surroundings of the poor. Christian mothers will not take infinite pains about the companionships of their own girls, and neglect to try and counteract the evil company which factory girls have daily to encounter. By the practical adjustment of intelligent and inventive Christian love, environment will be used to shape character, and character to build up environment. Christians will thus be wise master-builders, building up the fabric of pure human lives.

One concrete example in a field of Christian labour, which has hardly yet been worked, will explain a little further. As Christians learn that their own personal lives are the great stewardship entrusted to them for the service of others, they will make their own home itself far more definitely and plainly in the midst of others who need their help. Just as Christ came into our very midst, and lived among us, so will they. It will be impossible for men and women with the love of Christ burning in their hearts to keep their home life out of touch with the sadder, poorer lives. They will long to make their own homes in the centre of human want and misery, and they will do this, not from any merit in the act, but simply as a natural thing which they cannot help but do. Even whole families, it is hoped, will combine to live their gentle home life quietly and simply among the poor. It is

wonderful what a silent power the home of one good clergyman is in a coarse and poverty-stricken district; but he is generally sadly isolated in this home influence. If many such families could combine to make the loving sacrifice, and lead quite unobtrusively the beautiful, gentle, English home life in the heart of our slum districts, a new world of goodness would be opened to many, whose own homes are growing coarser and coarser. There would be many difficulties in such an attempt, but the earnest inventiveness of Christian love would overcome them. It is surely a terrible blot on our Christianity that in every city there is an East End and a West End, in which rich and poor live in almost complete isolation. Lazarus is in too awful reality sitting at the rich man's door full of sores, and feeding from the mere crumbs which fall from the rich man's table. No sacrifice could be too costly to prevent Christ from thus being put to open shame. On the one side, the vast stores of Christian refinement and gentleness now almost unused could form an environment to many districts sinking into brutality, if only close personal contact could be established. On the other side, the vast stores of affection now pent up in the hearts of the poor would overflow to welcome simple, quiet goodness taking up its home among them, for none are more lavish in their joy at the sight of pure self-sacrifice than the poor. These two vast stores are almost wasting away through want of touch with one another.

If only the barrier were broken down, the environment of Christian love and gentleness, calling forth love still greater and more ardent in return, would do more than all official charities to raise the working classes, and bring labour and capital once more together.

Two other suggestions may carry this thought still further. The Early Church, recognising the special temptations of the newly converted Christians, placed them in Christian families in order that they might be shielded, and helped, and trained during the critical time when character was growing. Wesley, with his practical instinct, recognised the same need, and supplied it with his small Class Bands, where men met constantly, and by the continual contact and influence came out at last strong characters. It is sad indeed to think of the fearful loss of men and women, whose awakened life has died away again through lack of the warm *home* welcome which should have been given them by the mother church, and shielded them till they were strong. One man, who had been turned completely from a life of drunken sin, told me: "I was so eager to keep straight, and to go on; but there were no companions round me to lend a helping hand, and the church people hardly took any notice of me, and I was feeling bound to go back again; nothing could prevent me, I was so weak, and my father, who was a Wesleyan, said, 'Come and join a Class Band,' and I did, and they were all so brotherly, and we were always together, and encourag-

ing one another, and after a year my father says : 'Now you're strong enough, go back again to the church where you were converted,' and so I went back to church, but joining that Class Band was the saving of my life." Some simple way of thus encircling those who are yet weak in the faith is surely much needed.

Another suggestion is that much more use should be made of adopting waifs and strays into good Christian homes. It is surely strange for a Christian home where there are no children to remain thus desolate while such numbers need a home. Many a childless home might be a training-ground for a little family group of adopted children, who would thus be much better nurtured than in an orphanage. These are simply a few suggestions of the uses which may be made of the home environment as a power for building up the Christian life. Such a simple view of environment relieves many of the fears of the individualist. Character still lies at the root of things ; but it is seen that character itself can be communicated by personal contact, and can frame an environment of influence to those in need. The personal character of evil is acknowledged ; but personal, and not artificial and external influences, are suggested for combating its ravages.¹

¹ In connexion with Environment and Education, St. Paul's use of "edifying" ("home-building," as the word means literally) needs careful study, and also our Lord's most solemn warnings as to "offence" against His little ones.

CHAPTER VII.

CHRIST AND THE NATION.

As the labour movement grows, industrial questions are seen more and more to be national questions of the deepest importance. No greater mistake could be made than to say, as some have done, that Christ did not deal with politics. They forget that the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Scribes were the national leaders of the Jewish polity. Christ came to "His own home," and His own received Him not. The cry, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, . . . how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!" showed how the Lord longed to gather the whole national life to Himself.

From the first Christ came into conflict with the existing Government, and pointed out, as men had ears to hear, its corruptions. He dealt directly with the problems of the living men He had before Him. In parable after parable He marked out the causes of national failure, and urged them to repent; but they "would not." He gave most definitely the whole background on which the Pharisees might have worked out a better social order, but they "would not."

When they refused He created a body of public opinion among those who had ears to hear, and these He set openly and palpably in direct contrast with the Pharisaic Government. St. Luke gives the picture, —the publicans and sinners on the one side drawing near, the Scribes and Pharisees on the other holding aloof and murmuring. In the unique five parables which follow, Christ deals directly with the Pharisaic misrule. There was more joy in heaven over the repentant publican than the "righteous" Pharisee. Their oligarchic exclusiveness was that of the selfish elder son who would not own his prodigal brother; their compromising time-serving was that of the unjust steward as they tried to serve both God and mammon; their indifference and religious respectability was that of the rich man and his brothers who had their "Moses and the Prophets," whom they would not hear, though Lazarus was sitting at their door full of sores.

In later parables He speaks still more plainly. The Jewish rulers are stewards who have spent the time during their Lord's absence in selfish squandering; they are like the wicked husbandmen, ready to commit any injustice in order to keep their own position; like the barren fig-tree, only cumbering the ground. While the publicans and sinners were pressing into the kingdom, repenting of the past, the Pharisees and Sadducees were bound up with their own false system, and would go to any lengths to keep their "place and nation." It is most noticeable that our Lord will

not let them go their own way; at all costs the evil must be brought home. When He had gathered His band around Him in Galilee, He set His face steadfastly to go up to Jerusalem, the very centre of misrule. He would force, as it were, when the due hour was come, the living contrast of His kingdom upon the notice of the Government. The meek simplicity of His kingdom of poor and penitent folk, who cried "Hosanna" as He entered, was a direct contradiction to the ostentation and exclusiveness of the Pharisees; His one act of judgment in the temple was a direct challenge to their selfish mercenary policy.

Then followed the most terrible and appalling denunciation of their corrupt Government, "Woe unto you, Pharisees, hypocrites. . . . Ye generation of vipers, how shall ye escape the damnation of hell?" After that the rulers had no further loophole left open. They must definitely either choose Barabbas or repent.

The Church in her prophetic office will endeavour to take up the position of her Lord. She will deal with the nation in which she is set, and its special problems, as He dealt with the Jewish nation. "As the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you," is her commission, and if she is the true Church militant, Christ will judge the nations through her ministry. What then is her primary function and method? To create public opinion, and set it in direct contrast to existing evil. As her Lord awakened the consciences

of men, and set those who had ears to hear in direct and palpable contradiction before the eyes of the corrupt Government, so will she. As He had Jerusalem continually before Him, and marshalled, as it were, His forces to direct assault upon the centre of abuses, so will she. As He won the moral victory through death and self-effacing sacrifice, so will she. Thus the true Church in her social function will be the "Prophet" of the State; her voice will be heard continually crying in the streets of the great city; she will gather those who have ears to hear, and send them forth to be a practical contrast to social abuses; she will speak through example more than by precept, by a faith that is seen rather than heard; as each step is gained through sacrifice she will advance still further on her march of moral victory; her cry will herald "wars" and "rumours of war," martyrdoms and persecution, but her end in view is "peace" and "goodwill towards men."

A concrete illustration will help to explain further. The working-classes of England owe three great elementary things to the persistent cry of the Christian Church—home-purity, freedom of labour, education. Century in, century out, the cry against impurity, slavery, ignorance, has been raised, often feebly, but still persistently, till recognition has been won. Legislation has now registered these changes; but it was only by constant emphasis, by creating and creating afresh public opinion till the moral conscience was strong enough to endorse the appeal in laws, that

these blessings have been won. As each old field is thus marked off by legislation, and recognised by the national conscience, new fields of work open, new public opinion has to be awakened, new voluntary examples of a higher social order have to be offered, rejected, persecuted, and at last accepted ; and at each step legislation clenches the point won, and prevents backsliding. The past is being gathered and stored by law, while the future is ripening. Law cannot go in advance of public opinion, but the Church can and must if she is a true prophet. Her duty is to raise and deepen public opinion by voluntary methods till the time is ripe for law. Law only performs its function, as it sets its seal upon the national conscience ; beyond that it is merely force. Many abuses of wealth, partially acknowledged, exist to-day. The indolent cry peace where there is no peace ; many deceive themselves or shut their eyes. Here is Christian work ready to hand. By every means the evil must be brought intelligibly and plainly home to men, and this can only be done by voluntary example. Every self-deceit must be made to leave its lurking-place. At last the alternative comes. Men must either act the lie direct, or confess the wrong ; they must choose Barabbas or Christ. If the nation choose to act the lie when the issue is clear, the cause is lost for a while till the storms of national judgment are past. If the nation confesses publicly and openly the wrong,—as England confessed the wrong of slavery,—one more advance is made in

true national progress. Thus nations, as well as individuals, rise on stepping-stones of their dead selves to higher things.

In industrial politics the Church's prophetic voice above all must now be raised against the commonly-accepted basis of self-interest, as the one motive power of activity to be appealed to. She can never accept this position for a moment while she is true to her Lord and Master. By every means in her power, but especially by organised voluntary example, she must show that self-sacrifice, not self-interest, brotherhood and not rivalry, is the true foundation. It is, indeed, a fact that love of gain is a most potent motive power, and has done wonders in the way of energy. It is true that mere deadness and stagnation is perhaps a worse condition than even the eager rush for money, and one often hears the claim, "If you do away with competition, you destroy energy and progress." But this is not the real case. It is the *control* of the energies now worn and wasted by competition that is required, not their destruction. One passion can be controlled by another still stronger, and at the same time energy be quickened thereby instead of destroyed—The Stronger One Who binds the strong man takes possession of his ill-used goods. This stronger love, overcoming the love of gain and self, is the constraining love of Christ, and its power is not theoretical, but has been practically proved stronger in every age, and few will not acknowledge that those, who have realised that constraining love, have been the most

active, rather than the least active; the most energetic rather than the least energetic. The words, "I was an hungered, I was in prison, I was a stranger," are ever ringing through their ears; in the starving, the sick, the captive, the outcast of humanity, they see Christ pleading with them. As they gaze upon the Cross they hear the words, "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another." The constraining power of that love they know to be stronger than the strongest selfish passion by simple experience. It is not with them a theory, it is a known fact. They know that devotion can be stronger than greed—stronger in wakening fresh energy and rousing latent activity; they know that life is fuller and busier, not more sluggish in the strength of that love; they know that it rests upon a peace which passes understanding. They see the same power in the past at the foundation of the best of the progress of modern Europe. They see that industry itself has been swayed and controlled thereby from the time when the monasteries first made the soil of England fertile by their devoted labour, to the time when the crushing weight of slavery was removed in the present century from the hard-driven negroes. Again and again a stronger motive than self-interest has won the day, and the future will lend still ampler scope.

It will be at once objected that such ideas are Utopian and unpractical. They are at least less artificial than attempts to patch up society by a

balance of opposed self-interests. There is not one natural instinct, which cannot be hallowed by the Christian faith. The Christian duty of providing for one's home may change the character of many a man's life. St. Paul declared, "If any provide not for his own, but especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." Such a motive will redeem from selfishness a large portion of men's labour.

Again the devotion of citizenship, of patriotism, will be called forth and directed and encouraged in the same way. The public tone or spirit, which is so great an influence towards unselfishness at school or college, will be extended to all forms of organisation which go to make up the national life. Each great firm or factory might gain a self-respect or public spirit of its own, which masters and men would be alike anxious to keep at a high level. In all such attempts the Church herself would lead the way and set the example. Each parish, each diocese, the whole National Church, should teach men the power of a corporate life and the public unselfishness which is the very life of a community. "Nothing is fruitful but sacrifice," said Lamennais. The Church herself, by her own organisation, great and small, should prove this practically before the eyes of a self-seeking world, and little by little the glow of unselfish work would spread warmth and light to wider and wider circles.

With regard to the national interests as a whole, the Christian will, on the one hand, be absolutely

opposed to a materialist view of progress. Man was not made to live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God. He will not make increase of total production an end regardless of the means. He will look upon a growth in national character as the test of national progress. At the same time, with that sensitive respect for men which Hooker felt when he said, "Men must have enough to live before they live well," he will note how material circumstances do condition individual lives; that our Lord cared for the wants of the body as well as for those of the soul. Thus, with a moral end in view, he will not rest while conditions remain impeding a healthy physical activity. He will endeavour to remove them, not only from individuals but from classes. In doing this, however, he will set little store on theories of equalisation of land or material things. He will see that St. Paul's picture of society leaves no room for a dead equality, but rather declares the importance of manifold diversity; that *κοινωνία* not *μετοχή* is the word for Christian fellowship; that in the graces of the Spirit there is no less inequality than is seen in actual life. Such diversity will seem to him a part of the fulness of social life. At the same time, he will recognise that the fruits of such diversity are for the use of others, that "as every one received the gift so he should minister the same"; he will work not selfishly, but that "he may have to give to him that is in need." Thus he will feel that a continued process of spread-

ing God's gifts is the divine order of progress. He will look sadly on the one hand upon excessive accumulation in individual hands, and on the other upon a stationary state of society, whether in the form of a reactionary Conservatism or a levelling Radicalism. He will realise the social value of individual capital, where its responsibility is recognised, and its unique power where it does not tend to stagnate. At the same time, he will do his best to make such capital recognised as a trust, a stewardship, and thus limit the individualist notions of "private property." If such capital be put to uses recognised by the whole public conscience to be wrong and immoral, then "the powers that be are ordained of God," and they "bear not the sword in vain," but are "the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil."

The Christian attitude towards wealth will be generally one of intense shrinking fear; its difficulty of use will appear so great, that just as we read that St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, and others shrank back from the dread responsibility of the bishop's office, so there will be a conscious shrinking and self-distrust at the thought of wealth. The words, "It is easier for a camel to pass through a needle's eye than a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven," are as startling, and should be as full of warning to-day as when they were first uttered. "Let the rich rejoice in that he is made low," is the comment of St. James.

This warning is balanced by the thought of steward-

ship. "Ye are not your own." Wealth, position, capital, property, are simply a responsible trust,—such is our Lord's continual teaching,—given to provide opportunity of service, not for selfish accumulation. To a Christian himself there can be no such thing as "private" property; he cannot but regard everything that he has to be at the call of need. To think or act otherwise were to deny his Lord Who bought him, and to be trying to serve God and Mammon.

Lastly, the reverential love for men will shrink from compulsion. Compulsion may sometimes be needed, and may be the kindest and best course in special cases; but however that may be, reverential love will usually have its own more excellent way, and will employ voluntary methods wherever and whenever it is able. The individual is sacred; the whole material world is insignificant compared with the individual life. Society is sacred; the Fatherhood of God is the basis of all life. "There is no fraternity," says Maurice, "without a common Father." Love—reverential, righteous love—is the bond of union. To quote Mazzini once more, "Man must not be taught 'to each according to his wants,' nor yet 'to each according to his passions,' but 'to each according to his love.'"

CHAPTER VIII.

THE INDUSTRIAL OUTLOOK.

AFTER treating the subject thus generally, there is need now to regard the most pressing labour questions, and try and dimly trace the probable issue of the industrial conflict. It is only with extreme diffidence that this part of the essay is attempted.

The "shorter working day" and the "living wage" are perhaps the two most pressing questions of the near future. The moral aspect alone will be dealt with here. It is pleaded most urgently by the supporters of the shorter working day, that excessive hours of work leave the workman no time for the development of mind and heart in other ways when work is over, and that the physical strain brings about unhealthy conditions. They say that with shorter hours the work would be more intelligent, less mechanical, and of better quality. Further, there would be absorbed a great number of those who are now idle, and to them the moral gain would be greatest of all. It would save them from loafing, begging, and becoming physically and morally corrupt. This side of the plea for a shorter day meets at once with the strongest sympathy, especially in the heavier

trades. It is to be hoped, indeed, that most trades in the end may shorten their hours, and so allow time for a life more fully developed on other sides. With long hours their homes are scarcely seen by many from one week's end to the other. Attendance at church services or at Bible readings on week days is almost impossible. All the wonders and beauties of God's physical creation are practically unknown. Life thus cramped and narrowed becomes often scarcely human. It may be answered to all this that the extra time would rather be spent in the public-house or in gambling. For the first generation this might be so, but the value of leisure would be learnt in time, and it would be the welcome duty of the Church to teach it. Cambridge men at least have known the value of leisure in their own lives, and find an eight hours' working day irksome enough when attempted, and can pity those who work much longer. As they are thankful themselves for hours that are free, so they will long to do to others, as they would others should do to them. At the same time it may well be that to proceed hastily would only increase the number of unemployed by loss of trade, and by doing so increase the moral evil. If that were really the case, it would be wrong to advocate a useless upheaval of society before conditions were favourable, but experiments might even now be tried by Christian employers in the direction of shorter hours. The Church should especially bring before masters their responsibility in this direction,

and claim from them, in the name of Christ, a self-sacrificing spirit in dealing with their brethren, for whom Christ died.

The second question which has come lately into prominent notice is the demand for a "living wage." The plea seems to be based on the principle which won the Factory Acts. It was then urged that it would be better for the cotton trade to cease to exist than that it should be continued under such degrading conditions. The same plea for the estimation of human life above material prosperity has animated the Factory Reforms and Employers Liability Acts since then. But the principle, it is pleaded, needs at the present time still wider application. There are very many workers, especially women, whose very conditions of work degrade them daily in health and vigour of life. The fact that 35 per cent. of the vast population of East London cannot earn more than 21s. per week per family, and that in Glasgow 14,000 families live in one-roomed homes, gives a faint picture of the conditions of life referred to. The plea urged and emphasised during the last great coal strike was that a trade which could not provide a living wage for its workers was being carried on upon a basis morally and socially unsound. Work performed at a starvation wage is practically worthless, and an increase of wage up to subsistence point (including sufficient food, room, and clothing) means better and less degrading work. It is urged that a trade refusing to pay a living wage should be either

compelled to raise the wage, or else be condemned as an industry carried on under unhealthy conditions. The plea of injury to health has been held sufficient to condemn certain dangerous or insanitary employments; it is now desired that the same principle should be extended on similar grounds to "sweated" industries. The unhealthy effects of a miserable pittance and exhausting conditions are no less injurious to human life than a poisonous atmosphere. The further plea of weakness, which was so successful in raising the factory children, is held to apply also to the down-trodden members of the working-classes. Mr. Hobson, in his "Problems of Poverty," has shown clearly the force of this appeal,—how the low paid industries are recruited from the crushed and maimed humanity,—how their misery through the very toil of the work continues alarmingly to increase,—how a great part of the labour is really a hopeless struggle by methods which should be extinct, to compete with machinery.

The first consequences of such a measure as a minimum "living wage" would naturally be to raise the life of a large portion of the community to a higher level of industry, and at the same time to throw out of whatever employment they now had a great number of men and women. The two cases need separate consideration. To the first the freedom from a grinding struggle for a precarious existence would give fresh life and strength; there would be less temptation to

give up in despair and take to drink and beggary; the increased wage would go to make the children better fed and clothed, and the next generation would start with healthy men and women instead of weak and degraded. There would, of course, be large exceptions to this, where the extra wages were only wasted, but in the main the improvement would be great both for the present and future. On the other side, however, very many would be thrown out of employment altogether. With the very large class who will not work, but prefer to be lazy and idle, little directly can be done. Nothing at least must be done to diminish the terrors of the evil which they are bringing on themselves. But for the class who are ready and willing to do work, but cannot find any, the case is different. Here the Church is already leading the way practically and quietly towards State Reform. As in earlier times the Church first attempted the task of popular education alone, and then was aided by the State, and lastly the State accepted the full responsibility, so the Church by Labour Homes will try at first alone to provide work for the willing unemployed; and secondly, the State will aid the Church in carrying out such a vast task; and thirdly, the State will carry on most of such Labour Homes on her own account, and the Church will be set free to go still deeper into the residuum of labour. Mr. Charles Booth has already proposed that the State should make an experiment in such matters. "Put practically, my idea is that these people should

be allowed to live as families in industrial groups, planted wherever land and building material are cheap; being well-housed, and well-warmed, and taught, and trained, and employed from morning to night on work, indoors and out, for themselves or on Government account." Any such scheme would be best worked through municipal experiments. The greatest danger would be in introducing the taint of pauperism. It would be very difficult, but not impossible, to prevent this. If once the taint of pauperism found a footing, the evil might be greater than the good. An incident occurs to the present writer of a visit paid to the Cambridge Workhouse. Its cleanliness and comparative comfort were admired, yet the master stated that old people would live for years on the verge of starvation, just managing to keep a roof above their head outside with the greatest suffering rather than come in. With all the comfort of the workhouse, the independence of misery and want was preferable; and one can only admire the choice. At present the Church Army Labour Homes have encouraged to the uttermost independence and self-help, and this is clearly the spirit in which such work should be undertaken.

What is most hopeful in the present ideals is the essentially Christian character of the motives which, for the most part, have prompted them. Regard for the weak and oppressed, care for healthy conditions of life and a sense of its true dignity, have stirred men's hearts to examine the causes of poverty far

more deeply than has been done before. In every way the suffering produced by the evils of the labour conflict has awakened sympathy and pity, and forced on a forgetful world the claims of the Christian message of brotherly love. But there is no one scheme or panacea for dealing with existing evils. Where sweeping theories fail or only partially succeed, that "charity," on which Bishop Ketteler relied, may be finding out unnumbered channels of close personal relationship with the poorest of the poor, and, by dealing with individual families, may lift many right out of their improvidence and want. There is increasing too a far more earnest rescue of individuals from the very depths of sin,—a rescue work which is going on daily in every parish in England, and bringing working-men back from terrible, brutal lives, to be the very salt of the earth, and lights set upon a hill which cannot be hid. All such work is infinitely varied because it deals with living men and women.

But perhaps even greater than directly personal work has been the power of the Christian ideal to make public opinion strong and sympathetic in the cause of the weak and helpless. Moral appeals on the grounds of fairness and sympathy, open and direct appeals to the Christian conscience of the nation, have again and again prevailed. Though there is at present a slight danger of sentiment overcoming justice, yet, as education in social duties proceeds, the verdict of public opinion will be more measured and impartial.

Lastly, workmen have perhaps never felt more deeply the need of a *moral* solution of their disputes. There has been no step more hopeful in the long labour conflict, than the appeal of both employers and employed in the Durham miners' strike to the Bishop of Durham to act as mediator. The action recognised in Christianity the bond of union and peace, which could put an end to the long struggle. Allegiance was given there to moral as superior to material ends.

As the future is scanned in the light of the past, one great feature stands out clearly—the tendency within each group of masters and men towards co-operation on a larger and larger scale. The first small gatherings of men have been growing into larger and larger unions. What was found impossible to accomplish by the few has been found possible by the many. At the same time the scattered labour has been welded together. Federal Unions have given place to closer organisations directed from a common centre. Local Unions have been merged in Amalgamated Unions comprising the whole industry. Still further, special trades have formed alliances. Seamen and dock labourers are drawing close together. Miners, railway workers, civil servants, are moving towards a common goal of action. Sympathetic strikes point to still wider range of union. In international congresses of labour, spheres of influence even greater are being mapped out. In the near future, at least some combination between English-speaking workmen all over the world may be expected.

Turning to the side of capital, the same picture presents itself. The small domestic master was obliged to give way before the growth of machinery, and perhaps unite in a partnership in the rising industry. The railways brought local trades into touch with the larger life, and the whole world has now become opened up to mutual trade. The unique value of large masses of capital has been continually proved, and this has brought about co-operation among small owners. Even in the retail trade the movement is more and more visible. Large towns are every year seeing small retail businesses amalgamated in one firm. The change, however, predicted by Karl Marx, of the concentration of capital into fewer and fewer hands, has not taken place. The millionaire is still a rarity. The direction taken has been towards partnerships and joint-stock companies. About one-third of the commerce of England is in the hands of the latter. The reason for this continual growth of larger businesses is the desire to escape the friction and waste of small competing units,—to clear an area, as it were, of ground free from the waste of petty rivalry.

The process is hastened by the most cruel and immoral forms of trade—adulteration, specious advertising, and stock-jobbery. These immoralities have made the scene of modern commerce a ghastly spectacle. A French economist has reckoned that ten only out of every hundred who enter business succeed, forty become bankrupt, while the rest remain stationary, or become servants of companies.

In the United States, where the greed for gain is greatest, it has been estimated that 95 per cent. fail of success. The result of this rush and struggle has been to accelerate production of all kinds, though generally the quality of goods has suffered.

Often the first union between competing capitalists is brought about in order to resist the workmen. Hostility is suspended in face of common danger. Then the advantage of not underselling each other is gradually seen, and a closer union is formed. The picture of the race of Scotch expresses from London to the North, and the terms at last agreed to, is a good example of the race to be rich. Later on, as the ruinous effects of competition in bringing over-production and gluts in the market are realised, it becomes more and more necessary to clear a field free from such risks. This is the origin of trusts and syndicates. Each company gives its shares into the hands of a trust or central board, who are able to regulate the whole trade within the area of the trust. Then at last for the owners within their own area there is peace. There is no need to undersell by adulteration; there is no need of over-production or expensive advertisement. Works can at once be closed which cannot reach an efficient standard.

There is little doubt that under normal progress trusts will play a great part in the future. One thing, however, is clear and unmistakable; such "trusts" are trusts to the community as well as to the members composing them. If they exist

they must be under careful supervision. There must be no trading on their monopoly at the expense of the public. Like private gas and water companies at the present time, they, on their larger scale, must be under the supervision of the State, and not allowed to make exorbitant profits at the expense of the community.

The Christian relation to such a conflict within the areas of capital and labour seems at first to be hidden out of sight. The anti-Christian elements of selfishness and greed and oppression seem to overwhelm any good that may lie beneath. But looking a little deeper beyond the great forces of division and rivalry, there appears a power of union and fellowship, a vast responsibility of mutual trust, a welding of men together in corporate life, a constraining impulse to organisation and solidarity, which Christianity can separate from selfishness and use for her highest service.

A striking contrast, which will illustrate how Christianity has already deeply affected our trade in spite of its self-seeking, is given, when the industry of England is compared with that of India. Mr. Lefroy, who is at the head of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, has pointed out that the difficulty which makes large industrial enterprises almost impossible among native Indians is the want of trust between man and man. Where Englishmen could trust each other Indians could not. The same was noted by Mr. Chamberlain in his visit to Egypt. Under British rule,

the whole country was changed by the individual trust in each other among Englishmen, which made large enterprises possible. In a very real sense, the development of industry, under freedom of enterprise, gives an ever-widening field for mutual trust and good-will. The opportunity is at least given of working out Christian principles on a scale almost inconceivable, until the world of common life was opened up on such a vast scale by modern industry. Ideas of mutual dependence, of society as an organism, of the solidarity of the race—ideas which help men to grasp the message of the Incarnation,—are now being learnt by the workman and the labourer with a clearness, which was lacking even to great thinkers a century ago. A visit to a coal-mine makes the reality of these larger relations more clear. The dependence of each workman on his mates, his need of their aid in his work, as they need his aid in theirs, is a study in itself of corporate life. The coal-mine is itself a commonwealth filled with the energy of organic life. The coal which is there hewn may serve for fuel in the farthest corners of the earth, and thus create a link between most distant lands. International relations are now entered into by workmen who, a century ago, scarcely looked beyond their village green.

While the energy of modern business has thus built up an outer framework of world-wide union, which has made clearer the world-wide message of Christ, it has also shown, as nothing else could do, the com-

manding need of some controlling power, deeper than private interest, in order to build up a really living organism and a permanent and noble corporate life. The passions of men have been shown to be so strong and engrossing as to overleap all law, all right, all natural affections. No one can read through Mr. Carter's careful investigation, entitled "Commercial Morality," published in the *Economic Review*, without feeling almost overwhelmed by the selfishness disclosed. With all the undoubted purity of much of our commerce, there is a most fearful darker side. "Business," says one employer in despair, "is based on the gladiatorial theory of existence. If Christian truth and justice is not consistent with this, business is in a bad way. So is nature." A commercial traveller writes that Christian principle is "not only difficult, but impossible, for a man is not master of himself. If one would live and avoid the bankruptcy court, one must do business on the same lines as others do, without troubling whether the methods are in harmony with the principles of Christian truth or not." A third writes, "The tendency to misrepresent, deceive, or take unfair advantage, under circumstances that daily offer the opportunity, is too strong to resist." Again, "At least 75 per cent. of trade is injured or hampered by unfair competition." The evil does not only drive capital to despair, it intensifies the struggle with labour. Every failure and bankruptcy make industrial relations unsteady, and cause employers, in their unscrupulous haste,

to try their utmost to cheapen labour. The selfish methods of business in employers become reflected in the workmen. One writes—"The worker has to resort to all sorts of shady dodges in order to retain his position, and carry on the fight for dear life." Another was dismissed after a few days' trial with the remark, "You are no good; you cannot tell a lie."

The license of reckless competition makes it increasingly difficult to be fair, even in larger firms where public credit and reputation have to be kept up. "It is not true," says Herbert Spencer, "that only the lower classes of the commercial world are guilty of fraudulent dealing. On the average, men who deal in bales and tons differ but little in morality from men who deal in yards and pounds. Illicit practices of every form and grade may be brought home to the higher grades of our commercial world. Tricks innumerable, lies acted or uttered, elaborately devised frauds are prevalent, many of them established as customs of the trade; nay, not only established, but defended."

From such a picture, one turns almost instinctively back to the early Christians dwelling together "of one heart and soul," laying their goods at the apostles' feet, counting nothing of the things they possessed as their own; or, again, to the quiet toil and prayer of the monasteries, where all the fruits of labour were spent upon the sick and needy and strangers in the country round; or, again, to the guild brotherhood of Berwick, where the townsmen formed a common

guild in which "all shall be members, having one head, one in council, one body, strong and friendly," and the thoughts run on to the band of Christian Socialists asserting "God's rightful dominion over every act of our common life," eager "to embody in due forms of organisation every deepest truth that faith has committed to its charge—to diffuse co-operation as the practical application of Christianity to the purposes of trade and industry."

With these many shaped ideals of the past and present there can be no despair. The industrial system now offers a framework of world-wide union, which the Church of the future may use (just as the great Church of the Middle Ages founded its structure on the Roman Empire); yet that framework will have to be re-shaped piece by piece, and a living brotherhood must take the place of deadening greed before industrial society can be called an habitation of God, a place where His honour dwelleth. When the heart fails most at the realisation of the overwhelming task before the Church to purify and cleanse and rebuild, the faith will come home with a new intensity of meaning, "I believe in the Holy Ghost."

CHAPTER IX.

THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRY.

WITH regard to the forms such re-shaping of industrial society should take, various theories have been set forward. One of the simplest and most attractive to many people is the theory of collectivism. It has been marred, terribly marred, by appeals to selfish passions, which look doubly hideous from the lips of men who in the same breath denounce the greed of our modern system. But, taken at its best, the theory has its attractions. It proposes as an end to be held in view that all instruments of production should at last pass into possession of the State. Each industry will finally be governed in departments in some such way as the telegraph or postal system. It is said that this will completely destroy the conflict between capital and labour by making the State the capitalist. In a democracy, it is stated, such a system would imply reciprocal supervision and control of industry; it would make the exploitation of labour for private gain impossible; it would tend to remove all idle and parasitic life, and put an end to excessive and unhealthy hours; corruption, bribery, and adulteration would be out of the question, and the time and labour

spent in making useless luxuries would be greatly diminished; the individual would be compelled to be "unselfish," and to take the place assigned to him by the State; everything would be regulated, and the general comfort and freedom from suffering, which would ensue, would make men content to acquiesce in such a life, and live happily and peaceably instead of in the present state of rivalry. The author of "Looking Backward" has perhaps sketched most graphically the collectivist ideal. When the first attractiveness has passed away, the picture presented there is at best a poor one. It is too commercial, materialistic. It appeals too much to the "comfortable"; the goodness described is of a watery character, with no vision of the unseen, of the purity and the awe and the holiness of God, in Whose presence life is lived, and by Whose power men are raised to heroism and devotion and the beauty of holiness. The collective state has encroached too far upon the individual in trying to make life a sort of business success; that, at least, is the impression left by "Looking Backward."

"I hold you will not compass your poor ends
Of barley feeding and material ease
Without a poet's individualism
To work your universal. It takes a soul
To move a body. . . .
It takes the ideal to blow a hair's breadth off
The dust of the actual. Ah! your Fouriers failed
Because not poets enough to understand
That life develops from within."

If collectivism were introduced in all its fulness, the old forces of ease, and sloth, and selfishness would rush back in unnumbered channels, and if, meanwhile, individual energy and character were weakened by the sense of government regulation and officialism, the last state would be worse than the first. The corruption in public departments abroad is already proverbial. Under the very limited collectivism in Australia this corruption has been found to increase with such leaps and bounds, that again and again the department has had to be taken out of popular control, and placed in the hands of a single irresponsible individual, before order could be restored. Freedom, responsible freedom, seems to be essential to any true idea of the dignity of human life; the sacredness of the individual, his direct responsibility to God, the sense of a message, a call, not of man nor by man, but of God; indeed, all that makes the heroic choice, the strength of character, the conviction that will face the world, all which distinguishes that choice from passive acceptance, that character from passive habits, that conviction from passive acquiescence—all this, the very salt of the individual life, would seem to be weakened by a State-regulating collectivism. The great lessons of the Reformation would be in danger of being unlearned in endeavouring to escape from their one-sidedness. The extent to which such State regulation is proposed to be carried in some collectivist schemes is, indeed, appalling. The privacy of the family life itself is to be broken up in the

supposed interests of the State. The sanctity of home, its ennobling spur to self-sacrifice, its training-ground for unselfish love and devotion to duty, these are to be replaced by an unreal and artificial bond of State union. Thus collectivism tends more and more to overstep the areas of individual choice and freedom. While most usefully emphasising the social side of life, and raising afresh many thoughts of social duty, it has lost sight of other sides, and in its present form gives no true and complete view of human nature. It seems, indeed, as one-sided as the old individualism, which it endeavours to replace. It sets the main hope of society in external reform, instead of holding such change secondary; in methods it prefers State action to voluntary effort; it inclines to set forward material ends as sufficient in themselves, and places the "tyranny of regulation" above the "service of perfect freedom." As an ending, therefore, in itself to the conflict between labour and capital, collectivism is disappointing. At the same time it contains much that will be included in the final solution. Where abuse of private ownership through monopoly or social harmfulness cannot be remedied by voluntary effort, the plea for State control might be advanced. But the more socially healthy and moral a nation is through the honour and integrity of its members, the less need there will be for such State interference.

The one fundamental point of difference between Christian Socialism, as advocated by Kingsley and

Maurice, and Collectivist schemes is, that their Christian Socialism rested upon a voluntary basis. The individual was too sacred in their eyes to be merely coerced into State service, or dealt with in the mass by State regimentation. They held up a far more exacting service to the community than collectivism, but it was essentially a willing, spontaneous service, a service of perfect freedom, because done in the deepest sense of constraining love, and not in the sense of compulsion or expedience. So, too, it must never be forgotten that the communism of the Early Church was voluntary, and based on the spontaneous outflow of Christian love.

A second theory, valuable and interesting by way of contrast only, is given in Mr. William Morris' "News from Nowhere." He is a poet, and pleads against municipalisation and nationalisation with all a poet's fervour. The state of life which his dreamer finds in the future is one of equality and communism. The rights of property exist no longer. "People flocked into the country, and in a very little time the villages of England were more populous than they had been since the fourteenth century." "Slave wares for the poor and wealth-wasting wares for the rich" ceased to be made. Instead of a dull utilitarian comfort, life is full of simplicity, and the individual is left free from politics or commercialism. The ideal, of course, is an ideal merely. It eliminates too much, and destroys the social value of life. The note of simplicity is perhaps its greatest attraction. The lack indeed of a true Christian simplicity is one of the great causes of present evil.

The unchristian use of wealth as a means for providing luxuries is the cause of wasted energy and unproductive labour. It has intensified the discontent of workmen and caused hatred of the rich perhaps more than anything else. The maintenance of luxury, again, has prevented the rich from doing their duty to the poor, and so the conflict between labour and capital has grown. A voluntary return to simpler modes of private life is surely demanded by our Lord in the words, "Take no anxious thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or drink, nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat and the body than raiment? . . . Consider the lilies of the field how they grow. . . . Therefore take no anxious thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? for after all these things do the Gentiles seek."

The Christian ideal of society in all its forms must finally be that of Brotherhood, corresponding to the universal Fatherhood of God. The more practically and intensely the Lord's Prayer is realised, the more really will human society shape itself into brotherly relations. This does not imply any dead equality; it rather implies infinite diversity, just as there are elder and younger, gifted and not gifted, talented and untalented, in every family. Perhaps the nearest practical approach in industry to this relation of true brotherhood is found in co-operation. The ideal of co-operation is indeed most difficult of attainment, but it is difficult just in proportion as it

makes unflinching claims on character ; its progress corresponds with and depends on advance in character, and advance in character can never be made easily. Frederick Denison Maurice, in founding the Working Men's Associations in 1850, gave these three principles:—

1. Human society is a brotherhood, and not a collection of warring atoms.

2. True workers should be fellow-workers, not rivals.

3. A principle of justice, not selfishness, should regulate exchanges.

Worked out in a more detailed form, the Co-operative Union states the same principles:—

“This Union is formed to promote the practice of truthfulness, justice, and economy in production and exchange.

- “1. By abolishing all false dealing, either (*a*) direct, by representing any article produced or sold to be other than what it is known to the producer or vendor to be ; or (*b*) indirect, by concealing from the purchaser any fact known to the vendor, material to be known by the purchaser to enable him to judge of the value of the article purchased.

- “2. By conciliating the conflicting interests of the capitalist, the worker, and the purchaser, by an equitable division among them of the fund commonly known as profit.

- “3. By preventing the waste of labour now caused by unregulated competition.”

In their attempt to apply such principles as these,

the founders of co-operation saw that their efforts would tend to lay the foundation of a higher social order, and not merely a commercial structure. Their first step was to reform distribution, the only possible step, in fact, towards the central position, the reform of production. While distribution has been made all in all by some, the more faithful and foreseeing co-operators have never lost sight of the wider and deeper aim, the solution of the problem of conflicting capital and labour. As co-operative distribution grew and increased, again and again the larger aim has been nearly lost. The magic power of "dividend on purchase," with its astonishing results, almost blinded men's eyes. But through a series of failures and sacrifices the power of co-operative production (which specially concerns the labour conflict) has at last been quickened into active life. Co-operative production may be now considered as having fairly started on its course, and will grow stronger and more permanent with the growth of years. There are still, indeed, immense difficulties in the way, and single methods will only cover part of the huge ground of industry. But co-operation is a principle rather than a method, and admits of all that flexibility and variety, which is the truest sign of life. The Bishop of Durham has shown the width and range of its powers. After commenting on the benefits of the store and wholesale he goes on :—"But questions of wider production both for home and for foreign use remain. These must be met by some distinct form of association. I do not pre-

sume to decide what the form or forms will be ; but it still appears to me that profit-sharing, in one shape or other, is the natural bridge to that which I most desire, the collective ownership of large works by the workmen. I do not indeed disguise from myself the formidable difficulties by which such kinds of co-operation are beset or the discouraging results of past experiments. But we learn through failure. And some at least of those who are most competent to judge trust without misgiving the power of artisans to choose the best leaders and obey them, and calculate that a patient and resolute purpose, which it is not unreasonable to look for, would enable (for example) the workmen in a ship-yard to make the ship-yard their own in fifteen or twenty years. To think otherwise would be, I must hold, to disregard some of the clearest lessons of the last generation."

These opinions, based on the widest experience and careful thought, are full of hope and encouragement. "Profit-sharing," again, which is regarded as an intermediate step, has now a illustrious history of its own. Out of one hundred and fifty-seven firms or companies that have tried the method, only eighteen have clearly failed. Countless forms and varieties seem possible, passing from the present competitive system and merging into co-operation. The method of working out co-operation will be educative, progressive, historical. "Realised first, perhaps," to quote the Bishop of Durham once more, "as an active principle in little transactions of trade, co-operation is found to have

the power of rising step by step through the whole range of life, of embracing the widest interests of man, of ennobling the simplest offices of duty, of binding together generation with generation and class with class, and in due time, as we trust, nation with nation, in the acknowledgment of one goal of all true service."

Conciliation, as has been already shown, will be another great stepping-stone towards the co-operative ideal. There are clearly many trades in which conditions for a long time will prevent any attempt at full co-operation. But the functions of the conciliation board may be extended over the intervening ground. The cases submitted to such boards for settlement show a continually increasing share in the management given to the men. Not only questions of wages, but methods of work, regulation of output, settlement of working hours, are now discussed and considered jointly by masters and men. All such methods of mutual regard are recognitions of the power and force of co-operation.

Closer and closer union within the areas of capital and labour has already been traced, progressing through conflict and suffering. Trades Unions on the one hand, and Companies on the other, have their good as well as their bad side. They show the moving power which urges men to combine, and are a training-ground and a framework for wider and deeper union. Profit-sharing and conciliation passing almost, it would seem, into co-partnership, are still in their infancy; but they have already shown signs of

a vigorous and healthy life. They represent the increasing tendency towards co-operation between the respective groups of capital and labour. Every inch of the ground for mutual reconciliation has been fought for and won, and lost and won again by the heroes of the past, who have urged the claims of brotherhood above short-sighted selfishness. The same heroic effort can alone win the battle of co-operation in the future. The powers of unselfish energy and mutual good-will were never more urgently needed. The opportunity for their exercise is offered in wider and wider fields. The end is within sight—the mutual fellowship of employer and employed. The ideal is capable of attainment—co-operation, not by State compulsion, but by voluntary effort. The paths toward the goal are quite innumerable—in industry itself directly by every form of conciliation, profit-sharing, and their concomitants; in the wider social field by municipal activity, civic duty, organised charity, and service towards the poor, with every act of sympathy and love, which brings class and class together. Thus the movement towards the goal seems to shape itself. The motive power which is needed for so high and lofty an accomplishment is a living Christian faith. He, who has been the great teacher to the present age of the message of the Incarnation, in the closing years of his life has given this firm expression of his unbroken hope:—

“The union of capital and labour will be accomplished, not in one way, but in many ways, for co-

operation is not so much an organisation as a principle, not so much 'a state within a state' as a spirit which quickens and moulds every member for the most effective service of the whole body. . . . I have dared to express great aspirations, because I believe more confidently as the years go on that men are moved by lofty motives. For me, co-operation rests upon my Faith. It is the active expression, in terms of our present English life, of the articles of my Creed. Viewed in the light of the facts which I hold to be the central facts in history, I recognise in it an inherent tendency to complete man, to guard the family, to unite the State, to harmonise nations. It is, as I regard it—and you will allow me to speak out my whole heart—man's spontaneous welcome given to the promises of God. It is a proof on the scene of our working world that the Gospel is not an illusion, but an ideal brought into the homes of men."

EPILOGUE.

"THE time has come to prove our faith in the wider fields of social life."

For the mighty work before the present age there is needed a still deeper learning of the story of the Cross, a still greater devotion to the risen and ascended Lord, a still fuller realisation of the all-embracing Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of men. The power of the constraining love of Christ, Who loved us and gave Himself for us, Who left us the new commandment that we should love one another as He Himself loved us,—this new power and energy of awakened love will be seen more and more to be the one true, reconciling bond between capital and labour, employer and employed. The Kingdom of God is within, in the very heart of man, but it passes outward as a formative principle building and fashioning "the City of God."

The City of God! It is from first to last the yearning vision of our faith—that faith which is the conviction of things as yet not seen. In the long martyr-roll of the sons of faith, from the time when the first seeker went forth "looking for the city which hath the foundations, whose Builder and Maker is

God," the hope has grown clearer and nearer and dearer. All that the Vision means of purity and righteousness and love has been shown by the Incarnate Lord as He revealed the Father, united brother with brother in the Kingdom of God, and taught His own love by dying upon the Cross.

The first age drew to a close. St. John was tarrying till the Lord should come. The great world city rose before him in all its impurity, slavery, and sin. He saw the Word of God go forth conquering and to conquer, and on His thigh was written, "King of kings and Lord of lords." The cry arose, "Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen." Out of the midst of the desolation came the Holy City, where nought entered that defiled or made a lie.

To-day the Lord goes forth conquering and to conquer, King of kings and Lord of lords; before Him the great world city of commercial greed will fall, and we look for the Holy City, which hath the foundations, . . . whose Builder and Maker is God.

THE END.

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